Persian Heritage Series
Edited by Ehsan Yarshater
Number 35

The Path of God's Bondsmen from Origin to Return

(Merṣād al-ʿebād men al-mabdāʾ elāʾl-maʿād)

A Sufi Compendium by Najm al-Dīn Rāzī, known as Dāya

Translated from the Persian, with introduction and annotation
by

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Caravan Books
Delmar, New York
1982

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Transcription

The transcription system used here for Persian and for Arabic elements in Persian, aims for simplicity and accuracy, and has been jointly adopted by Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum, Encyclopaedia Persica, The Persian Heritage Series, The Persian Studies Series, Bibliothèque Persane, and Meisterwerke der persischen Literatur.

	Persian	Arabic		Persian	Arabic		Persian	Arabic
ء	ʾ		ض	ż	ḍ	Vowels		
ب	b		ط	ṭ		آ	ā	
پ	p		ظ	ẓ		ى̀ا	à	
ت	t		ع	ʿ		و	ū	
ث	s̱	ṯ	غ	ḡ		ی	ī	
ج	j		ف	f		ـَـ	a	
چ	č		ق	q		ـُـ	o	
ح	ḥ		ك	k		ـِـ	e	(but iy)
خ	ḵ		گ	g		ه	e, a	a
خو	ḵ̌		ل	l		وَ	ow	aw
د	d		م	m		یَ	ey, ay	ay
ذ	ẕ	ḏ	ن	n				
ر	r		و	v	w			
ز	z		ه	h				
ژ	ž		ی	y				
س	s							
ش	š							
ص	ṣ							

Note:
The more familiar and commonly used proper names and titles when not an integral part of the name, and other commonly known words have been anglicized without diacritics for the sake of simplicity (e.g., shah, Isfahan, Turkman, khan, etc.).

Acknowledgements

To Professor Ehsan Yarshater, for accepting this translation for inclusion in the Persian Heritage Series, and his patience in the face of a delay that saw the original deadline for completion fade into oblivion; to Mr. Hasan Zowqi, of the Bongāh-e Našr va Tarjoma-ye Ketāb, Tehran, for his kindness in providing me with proofs of Dr. Riyahi's edition of the *Merṣad* before its publication; to two cherished friends and colleagues—Dr. Abdulhadi Hairi, for reviewing the translation in accordance with the regulations of the series, and Dr. Assad Busool, for his assistance in identifying the source of Traditions quoted in the work; to Florence Myer, for the characteristic punctiliousness she devoted to the typing of a long and difficult manuscript.

Hamid Algar

Preface

The present volume is a translation for the first time in a Western language of one of the major works on Islamic mysticism. The author, Najm al-Dīn Rāzī, an acknowledged Sufi master of the thirteenth century, lived at a time when the Islamic Middle East was going through a turbulent period of its histroy, marked by many disruptions and calamities, culminating in the Mongol invasion. Despite this grim background, or perhaps partially because of it, the period witnessed a flowering of mystical thought and practice and a flourishing of Sufi writings. It was in this period that major systematizations of speculative Sufism and elaborations of Sufi ritual and practice were worked out.

Rāzī, who like Ghazālī adhered to the Sunnite branch of Islam and followed the Ash'arite theology, focused his attention on the exploration and analysis of the visionary states experienced by the Sufis in the course of their mystical journey. In elaborating his system in the *Merṣād,* Rāzī strikes a middle course between those mystics who concentrated on ecstacy and spiritual raptures and neglected or made light of religious observances and rituals, and the ascetic Sufis who emphasized worship through meticulous or excessive performance of religious duties. He particularly stresses the necessity of having a mentor (*pīr, shaikh*) and the proper regard for the rules and rites of Sufi hospices (*ḵānegāhs*).

The *Merṣād* has been one of the most successful as well as one of the most popular treatises on Sufism. It offers a systematic exposition of Sufi doctrine and practice as it has evolved by the seventh century of Islam.

The translation, ably rendered and annotated by Professor Algar, is based on the critical edition by Dr. Moḥammad Amīn Rīāhī (Tehran, 1973). It is hoped that its publication will further promote a knowledge of Islamic mysticism.

Ehsan Yarshater

Introduction

I

Sufism, the inner dimension of Islam, began, it is said, as "a reality without a name." Its beginnings are coterminous with those of Islam itself, for it is firmly rooted in the Qur'anic revelation and the exemplary person and model of the Prophet Moḥammad, upon whom be peace. Yet the word Sufi does not occur in the text of the Qur'an, nor did it exist in the lifetime of the Prophet and his companions. It emerged, rather, in the process of a historical elaboration that made explicit and differentiated what had previously been implicit and undifferentiated; the inner and outer dimensions of the religion each attained a separate identity within the subsuming framework of its total structure. The early elaboration of Sufism is parallel and complementary to the establishment of the discipline of jurisprudence and the emergence of the law schools; both phenomena occurred at approximately the same time, the second and third centuries of the Islamic era (eighth and ninth centuries of the Christian era).[1] In this period, lines of mystical affiliation grew up; an expository literature was written; a technical vocabulary was elaborated; paraliturgical practices were formalized; and distinct institutional forms came into being.

The stages of this process cannot even be sketched here; suffice it to say that numerous channels of development converged in the seventh century of the Islamic era (thirteenth century of the Christian era) to produce one of the richest and most brilliant epochs in the history of Sufism, almost as if all that had gone before constituted a preparation for what has been termed "a fresh flowering or second youth" of Islam.[2] This flourishing of Sufism took place against a somber background of barbarian invasion—the Crusaders descended on the Islamic world from the west, and the Mongols from the east—and it may almost be re-

[1]See Victor Danner, "The Necessity for the Rise of the Term Sufi," *Studies in Comparative Religion*, spring 1972, pp. 71-77.

[2]By Martin Lings, in his introduction to R. W. J. Austin's translation of Ebn 'Arabī *Sufis of Andalusia* (London, 1971), pp. 11-12.

garded as a kind of compensation for the political disasters of the period. From the Islamic west arose the supreme master of Islamic theosophy, Ebn 'Arabī (d. 638/1240), whose career embraced Cairo, Damascus, and Konya, where he gained a number of disciples who assured the dissemination of his teachings throughout the eastern Islamic world. Several Sufi orders emerged in Egypt, including the Badawīya of Aḥmad al-Badawī (d. 674/1276) and the Šāẕelīya of Abu'l-Ḥasan Šāẕelī, who died in 656/1258, the same year as the Mongol conquest of Baghdad, and whose order, with its numerous derivatives, continues to dominate the spiritual life of North Africa down to the present day. Anatolia witnessed the career of Mowlānā Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī (d. 672/1273), who composed some of the greatest literary monuments of Sufism in the Persian language and founded an order that enriched the cultural life of the Turkish people for almost five centuries. In India, the Češtī order arose under the auspices of Mo'īn al-Dīn Češtī (d. 633/1236), and the Sohravardī order, brought to the subcontinent by Bahā al-Dīn Zakarīyā Moltānī (d. 665/1267), began to take firm root. And finally in Central Asia we encounter the figure of 'Abd al-Ḵāleq Ḡejdovānī (d. 616/1220), the spiritual ancestor of the Naqšbandī order; several important shaikhs of the cognate Yasavī order; and, most important, the Kobravī order to which was affiliated Najm al-dīn Dāya Rāzī, author of the present work.

The founder of the Kobravī order, Najm al-Dīn Kobrā, was born in 540/1145-1146 in the city of Ḵ̌ārazm to the south of the Aral Sea; although he traveled for many years in other regions of the Islamic world, he spent the major part of his life in his birthplace and died there. He was in a sense the patron saint of Ḵ̌ārazm, and it was there, and in contiguous regions of Central Asia, that his order initially spread. He began his career as a scholar of prophetic Tradition *(ḥadīs̱)* and theology *(kalām)*, traveling wide in the cultivation of these disciplines. His interest in Sufism was awakened in Egypt, where he became a *morīd* of Shaikh Rūzbehān al-Wazzān al-Meṣrī, who had been initiated into the Sohravardī line. After a number of years in Egypt, he went to Tabriz to pursue his studies of *kalām*, but came instead under the influence of a certain Bābā Faraj Tabrīzī, who persuaded him to abandon his concern with the external religious

sciences and devote himself fully to the Sufi path. He then spent some time in the company of two other preceptors, 'Ammār b. Yāser and Esmā'īl al-Qaṣrī, before returning to Shaikh Rūzbehān in Egypt. Rūzbehān evidently regarded Kobrā by then as fully mature, for in about 540/1145 he sent him back to Ḵ̌ārazm with full authority to initiate and train his own disciples.

Kobrā swiftly gathered a large following in Ḵ̌ārazm, including an extraordinary number of individuals who attained prominence in their own right as gnostics and writers on Sufism. He is, in fact, frequently designated in the traditional literature as *vali-tarāš*, the "manufacturer of saints." Among the foremost disciples of Kobrā we may mention Majd al-Dīn Bag̃dādī (d. 616/1219), Sa'd al-Dīn Ḥamūya (d. 650/1252), Bābā Kamāl Jandī, Seyf al-Dīn Bāḵarzī (d. 658/1260), Rażī al-Dīn 'Alī Lālā (d. 642/1244), and Kobrā's namesake, the author of this book, Najm al-Dīn Dāya Rāzī.

The major emphasis in the writing and teaching of Najm al-Dīn Kobrā was on the analysis of visionary experience that unfolds itself to the wayfarer on the Sufi path, and the morphology of man's inner being. He examined the differing significances of dreams and visions; the degrees of luminous epiphany that are manifested to the mystic and their origins; the various classes of concept and image *(ḵavāṭer)* that engages the Sufi's attention and their significance; and the nature of the heart, the spirit and the "mystery," as well as the interrelation between these subtle centers of cognition *(laṭā'ef)*. He transmitted these emphases to his followers, including Dāya, who as we shall see enlarged upon the terminology and classification of his master in one respect.[3]

Najm al-Dīn Kobrā died during the Mongol conquest of Ḵ̌ārazm in 618/1221; according to the traditional accounts, he refused an invitation by the Mongols to leave the city before

[3]The life and work of Najm al-Dīn Kobrā have been exhaustively examined by Fritz Meier in his long introduction to Kobrā's *Fawā'iḥ al-Jamāl wa Fawātiḥ al-Jalāl* (Wiesbaden, 1957). The late Marijan Molé published several of Kobrā's briefer works under the title "Traités Mineurs de Nag̃m al-Dīn Kubrā," *Annales Islamologiques*, Cairo, IV (1963), 1–78.

they proceeded with their massacre of the inhabitants, and died at the head of a band of his followers while engaged in hand-to-hand combat with the attackers. He is reputed to have been buried at the site of his *ḵānaqāh* (hospice) outside the city. His tomb, located in what subsequently became known as Köhne-Ürgenj, became a center of pious visitation, and is said to retain this function even under Soviet rule.[4] Various disciples perpetuated his line, and even took a kind of revenge on the killers of their master by presiding over their meek conversion to Islam. Seyf al-Dīn Bāḵarzī established a well-endowed *ḵānaqāh* in Bokhara, some time between 644/1246 and 651/1253. Berke Ḵān, the fifth ruler of the Golden Horde, came to it to proclaim his acceptance of Islam.[5] Another disciple, Sa'd al-Dīn Ḥamūya, initially took refuge in Syria from the Mongol invaders but later turned eastward again and set up his *ḵānaqāh* at Baḥrābād in Khorasan. The direction of the *ḵānaqāh* was inherited by his son, Ṣadr al-Dīn Ebrāhīm, who in 694/1295 presided over the conversion to Islam of Ḡāzān Ḵān the Ilkhanid, ruler of another branch of the Mongol empire.[6]

Other members of the Kobravī line continued to cultivate the analytical and speculative interests of Najm al-Dīn Kobrā. For example, 'Azīz al-Dīn Nasafī, a *morīd* of Sa'd al-Dīn Ḥamūya, wrote an important treatise on the Sufi concept of the Perfect Man, the dominant theme of all Sufi anthropology.[7] Rokn al-Dīn 'Alā al-Dowla Semnānī (d. 736/1336), connected

[4]To the references concerning his tomb assembled by Meier (pp. 60-62), we can add the following information: that invisible winged dogs are popularly thought to guard Kobrā's tomb; and that stone troughs placed at either side of the entrance to the tomb are filled by pilgrims piously desirous of slaking the dogs' thirst (G. P. Snesarev, *Relikty Domusul'manskikh Verovanii i Obryadov u Uzbekov Khorezma*, Moscow, 1969, pp. 269, 322).

[5]On the life and writings of Bāḵarzī, see Sa'īd Nafīsī, "Seyf al-dīn Bāḵarzī," *Majalla-ye dāneškada-ye adabīyāt*, II; 4, Tir, 1334/October, 1955, 1-15; Īraj Afšār, *Sargoẕašt-e Seyf al-dīn Bāḵarzī*, Tehran, 1341 Š./1962. The wealth of his *ḵānaqāh* is attested by the documents assembled by O. D. Chekhovich, *Bukharskie Dokumenty XIV v.*, Tashkent, 1965, and his role in the conversion of Berke is described by Jean Richard in "La Conversion de Berke et les Debuts de l'Islamisation de la Horde d'Or," *Revue des Etudes Islamiques*, XXXV (1967), 173-178.

[6]Rashīd ad-Dīn Faḍlullāh, *Tārīkh-i Mubārak-i Ghāzānī*, ed. Karl Jahn, London, 1940, pp. 76-80.

[7]'Azīz al-Dīn Nasafī, *Ketāb al-ensān al-kāmel*, ed. Marijan Molé, Tehran & Paris, 1962.

by two links of the initiatic chain with Rażī al-Dīn 'Alī Lālā, further elaborated the analysis of man's subtle centers begun by Najm al-Dīn Kobrā and Dāya, and formulated a critique of the theosophy of Ebn 'Arabī that had much influence on Indian Sufism, particularly in Naqšbandī circles.[8]

The major works of these writers have been published and made the object of scholarly analysis; far less well known is the subsequent history of the Kobravī order, both in its Central Asian homeland and in more distant regions. Badr al-Dīn Samarqandī, a *morīd* of Seyf al-Dīn Bāḵarzī, traveled southward to India and established a branch of the Kobravīya that came to be known as the Ferdowsīya.[9] Its most important figure was Aḥmad Yaḥyā Manērī (d. 772/1371), author of a celebrated collection of letters on Sufi topics and respected by the Toḡloq sultans of Delhi.[10] It is not known how long the *ḵānaqāh* at Baḥrābād survived; it probably disappeared by the fifteenth century at the latest.

The most long-lived and prolific line deriving from Najm al-Dīn Kobrā was that descending by way of Rażī al-Dīn 'Alī to 'Alā al-Dowla Semnānī; one of its derivatives, the Ẕahabīya, is still to be found in Iran, although in very attenuated form. 'Alī Hamadānī, a *morīd* successively of two of Semnānī's followers, Taqī al-Dīn Aḵī and Maḥmūd Mazdaqānī, introduced the Kobravī order to Badaḵšān and Kashmir. He was buried in Ḵottalān (present-day Kolāb, Tajik S.S.R.) in 786/1385. He called himself a "second 'Alī"—not in a reincarnatory sense, but in the sense that he possessed the same fullness of perfection as the Prophet's cousin, who was the first link in the initiatic ancestry of the Kobravī order and, according to a tradition frequently quoted by Kobravī authors, the gate to the city of knowledge that was the Prophet.[11] Esḥāq al-Ḵottalānī, successor

[8]See *Mokātabāt-e 'Abd al-raḥmān-e Esfarā'enī va 'Alā al-dowla Semnānī,* ed. Hermann Landolt, Tehran & Paris, 1972, and the copious bibliography given on p. 33 of his introduction.

[9]See J. S. Trimmingham, *The Sufi Orders in Islam,* Oxford, 1971, p. 56; and Aziz Ahmad, *An Intellectual History of Islam in India,* Edinburgh, 1969, p. 43. According to the latter, the Ferdowsīya was restricted to the area of Behār.

[10]The *maktūbāt* of Manērī were published at Lucknow in 1911.

[11]Concerning Hamadānī, see J. K. Teufel, *Eine Lebensbeschreibung des Scheichs 'Alī-i Hamadānī,* Leiden, 1962.

of 'Alī Hamadānī, was murdered by emissaries of the Timurid ruler Šāhrok in about 826/1423, but before dying he appointed as his successor Moḥammad Nūrbakš. The majority of the followers of Kottalānī accepted Nūrbakš, but a minority disputed his succession and gave their loyalty to one 'Abdollāh Barzešābādī.[12] This schism gave rise to two separate derivatives of the Kobravīya, each with its own name, but having in common an abandonment of Sunnism for Shi'ism. One was the Nūrbakšīya that survived into the Safavid period, although its history under the Safavids is in many respects obscure; the other came to acquire, at a date and in a fashion unknown, the designation of Zahabīya, and has survived down to the present in Iran, where its major center is Shiraz.[13]

Given this ultimate choice of Shi'ism by a relatively well-studied branch of the Kobravīya, as well as expressions of devotion for the Twelve Imams found in the writings of Najm al-Dīn Kobrā himself, it has been assumed that the Kobravī order was a proto-Shi'ite order from its inception.[14] This conclusion by no means follows, however, since pious sentiments toward the family of the Prophet and especially the Twelve Imams—primarily but not exclusively associated with Shi'ism—are frequently encountered in other Sufi orders, including those of militantly Sunni affiliation such as the Naqšbandīya.[15] Then too, there is the fact of the persistence of the Kobravīya as a purely Sunni order in Central Asia and elsewhere. Here we can assemble only disparate pieces of evidence, but they suffice to prove that the Kobravīya flourished for many centuries in strictly Sunni environments. From the fourteenth century onward, radiating

[12]Marijan Molé, "Les Kubrawiya entre Sunnisme et Shiisme aux Huitième et Neuvième Siècles de l'Hégire," *Revue des Etudes Islamiques*, XXIX (1961), 124-128.

[13]Richard Grämlich, "Die schiitischen Derwischorden Persiens," *Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, XXVI, 1 (1965), 14-26.

[14]This view was first put forward by that gluttonous appropriator of Sunni gnostics, Nūrollāh Šūštarī (d. 1019/1610), in his celebrated *Majāles al-mo'menīn* (II, 72-75 of the 1375/1955 Tehran edition). It has been resurrected in recent years by S. H. Nasr and others on the basis of inconclusive evidence contained in Molé's article, "Les Kubrawiya entre Sunnisme et Shiisme."

[15]See the brief remarks contained in Hamid Algar, "Some Observations on Religion in Safavid Persia," *Iranian Studies*, VII, 102 (winter-spring 1974), 287-290.

from its center in Bokhara, the Naqšbandīya became the dominant order in Central Asia and ultimately displaced the Kobravīya even in K̲ārazm. There remained, however, areas of Kobravī concentration, such as the small town of Sāktarī near Bokhara; the shaikhs of Sāktarī produced an important corpus of late Kobravī literature, and their line persisted until at least the early seventeenth century.[16] Somewhat to the south, we encounter in late nineteenth-century Afghanistan the figure of Mīān Faqīrollāh, a renowned Kobravī saint and the author of a work much read in that country, *Qoṭb al-eršād*.[17] There appears also to have been a considerable transmission of the Kobravī order itself—not the derivatives listed above—to India, although the Kobravī line frequently became intertwined with others, multiple affiliation to numerous Sufi orders being a common feature of Indian Sufism. Thus, Tāj al-Dīn al-ʿOs̲mānī (d. 1050/1640), known primarily as a Naqšbandī, was also affiliated with the Kobravīya, and wrote a treatise on the methods of spiritual realization used by the Kobravīs.[18] The Kobravīya was transmitted eastward from Central Asia to China and struck root among the Muslims of Kansu, although not much is known of its history there.[19] Finally, there are traces of the Kobravīya in Turkey, although no lasting implantation took place.[20]

The Kobravīya derives its importance in the history of Sufism not so much from its longevity and the ubiquitousness of its branches, whether Shiʿite or Sunni, as from the influence exerted by its analytical theories and literature. The most influential and widely read of all Kobravī writings was, without doubt, the present work, *Merṣād al-ʿebād*. We now turn to an examination of the career of its author, Najm al-Dīn Dāya Rāzī.

[16]See A. A. Semenov, *Sobranie Vostochnykh Rukopisei Akademii Nauk Uzbekskoi SSR*, Tashkent, 1955, III, 327–328.
[17]See introduction by K̲alīl K̲alīlī to the *Neynāma* of Yaʿqūb Čark̲ī and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Jāmī, Kabul, 1336 Š./1957, p. 2.
[18]Al-Moḥebbī, *Kolāṣat al-as̲ar fī aʿyān al-qarn al-ḥādī ʿašar*, Būlāq, 1284/1867, I, 469.
[19]Moḥammad Tawāżoc, *al-eslām wa 'ṣ-Ṣīn*, Cairo, 1364/1945, p. 112.
[20]Kamāl al-Dīn al-Ḥarīrī, *Tebyān wasāʾel al-ḥaqāʾeq wa salāsel al-ṭarāʾeq*, ms. Ibrahim Efendi (Istanbul), III, ff. 79a–84b.

II

Abū Bakr 'Abdollāh b. Moḥammad b. Šāhāvar al-Asadī al-Rāzī, commonly known by the *laqab,* or sobriquet, of Najm al-Dīn, combined with the further title of Dāya[21] and the toponymous designation of Rāzī, was born in the year 573/1177 in the city of Ray, one of the major centers of urban life and culture in pre-Mongol Iran.[22] Even before the disasters of the Mongol conquest and the sacking of Ray, the vitality of the city was being sapped by continuous disputes between various Saljuq princes, all of whom claimed rule over it, as well as by incessant clashes between the followers of different schools of law—Ḥanafī, Šāfe'ī, and Shi'ite. This turmoil may have incited Dāya to leave his native city, for a number of allusions to the instability of the age and the evil of fanatical attachment to one school of law are to be found in his work.[23] It was, in any event, the habit of both scholars and Sufis to travel widely throughout the Islamic lands, and according to the autobiographical sketch with which he prefaced his celebrated commentary on the Qu'ran, Dāya left Ray in 599/1202-03, visiting in turn Syria, Egypt, Ḥejāz, Iraq, and Azerbaijan.[24] In the present work he also mentions having been in Cairo and Damascus in the year 600/1204.[25] He recounts too, certain memories of Mecca, but these may relate to his second hajj, performed shortly before his flight to Anatolia.[26]

Some time thereafter, he traveled eastward to K̲ārazm, passing through Nishapur, where he recounts having met Shaikh Moḥammad Kūf, one of the more renowned Sufis of Khorasan in that age.[27] At an unknown date, he arrived in K̲ārazm and, according to the testimony of all sources, became a *morīd* of his great namesake, Najm al-Dīn Kobrā.[28] It may be supposed that

[21]The word Dāya literally means "wetnurse"; its application to the author of the *Merṣād* derives from the idea of the initiate on the Path being a newborn infant who needs suckling to survive; see pp. 222-226 of the text. We shall use this element of the name to refer to the author.

[22]For the date of Dāya's birth, see Faṣīḥī K̲āfī, *Mojmal-e Faṣīḥī,* ed. Maḥmūd Farrok̲, Tehran, 1339 Š./1960, II, 262.

[23]See pp. 43, 261 and 454.

[24]Dāya, *Baḥr al-ḥaqā'eq,* ms. Ḥasan Hüsnü Paşa (Süleymaniye), 37, ff. 3a-3b.

[25]See p. 429.

[26]See p. 279.

[27]See p. 130.

[28]See, for example, 'Abd al-Raḥmān Jāmī, *Nafaḥāt al-ons,* ed. Mahdī Towḥīdīpūr, Tehran, 1336 Š./1948, p. 435.

he had journeyed to K̲ārazm for precisely this purpose. Kobrā, however, delegated the task of his spiritual training to one of his *morīds,* Shaikh Majd al-Dīn Bag̲dādī, to whom Dāya constantly refers with great reverence as "our shaikh." Majd al-Dīn —who came not from Baghdad but from the small village of Bag̲dādak near K̲ārazm—was the preceptor of the celebrated Sufi poet 'Aṭṭār, whom he initiated at his *k̲anāqāh* in Nishapur, and the author of several important works marked by the same emphases as those of Kobrā.[29]

It is remarkable that there is, by contrast, not a single mention of Najm al-Dīn Kobrā anywhere in the writings of Dāya. Doubtless this is explicable in part by the deep impression made on Dāya by Bag̲dādī, an impression that could well have effaced all effective memory of Kobrā. It may also be connected with the circumstances under which Bag̲dādī met his death. According to the ninth/fifteenth-century hagiographical compendium, 'Abd al-Raḥmān Jāmī's *Nafaḥāt al-ons,* Bag̲dādī once boasted to his followers as follows: "I used to be an egg on the edge of the river, and Najm al-Dīn (Kobrā) was a hen who took me under the wing of his training. Now I have emerged from the egg and become like a duck; I enter the water while my shaikh still stands on the bank." Kobrā, who came to know of this arrogant metaphor through the intuitive light of his sanctity, uttered the imprecation: "May he die in the river!" Penitent and ashamed, Bag̲dādī abased himself before Kobrā, who duly forgave him, but prophesied that Bag̲dādī would still die in the river, and that all of K̲ārazm would ultimately follow him to destruction.[30] Majd al-Dīn Bag̲dādī was indeed drowned in the Oxus on the orders of the ruler of K̲ārazm, in the year 607/1210. While Sufi tradition sees in his drowning the inevitable result of Najm al-Dīn Kobrā's imprecation, the immediate cause for his death is reputed to have been a secret liaison with Torkān K̲ātūn, the mother of the K̲ārazmšāh.[31] K̲ārazm was, moreover, inhospitable terrain for Sufis, as a result of the prominence at court of the philosopher Fak̲r

[29]Concerning Bag̲dādī, see Jāmī, *Nafaḥāt al-ons,* pp. 424–430; and Ye. E. Bertel's, "Chetverostishiya Sheikha Madzhd ad-Dina Bagdadi," in *Sufizm i Sufiiskaya Literature,* Moscow, 1965, pp. 335–339.

[30]Jāmī, *Nafaḥāt al-ons,* pp. 425-426.

[31]*Ibid.,* p. 426.

al-Dīn Rāzī, from whose maleficent influence Bahā al-Dīn Valad, the father of Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī, is also reputed to have fled. It is therefore conceivable that the murder of Majd al-Dīn Bağdādī should have been no more than a particularly violent instance of the Ḵārazmšāh's aversion to the Sufis. In any event, Dāya's silence concerning Kobrā—a silence that must have been deliberate—may be interpreted as a sign of resentment at Kobrā's fatal imprecation.

Whether because of the death of Majd al-Dīn Bağdādī or because of his anticipation that Kobrā's prophecy of general disaster would also be fulfilled, Dāya left Ḵārazm before the Mongol conquest and resumed his wanderings in western Iran. No security was to be had there, however, and in 618/1221, after a return visit to the Ḥejāz, Dāya fled from the advancing Mongol armies to the haven of Anatolia, abandoning his family, by his own admission, to be massacred in the Mongol sack of Ray. Traveling via Hamadān, Erbīl, and Diyarbekir, he reached Kayseri in central Anatolia in Ramadān 618/October 1221.[32]

Anatolia was an obvious place of refuge for him. It was not only, as Dāya writes, a land where orthodoxy prevailed, untainted by the heresy of Mo'tazelism and philosophy, and a branch of the great Saljuq dynasty reigned;[33] it was also, thanks to Saljuq patronage, a center for the cultivation of Persian literature—Persian being the court language of the Saljuqs despite their Turkish origin and environment—and a point of attraction for Sufis from the western and eastern extremes of the Islamic world. Ebn 'Arabī traveled three times to Anatolia, visiting Malatya, Sivas, and Konya; in the last city he acquired one of his most influential disciples, Ṣadr al-Dīn Qonyavī (c. 673/1274), whose lectures on the teachings of Ebn 'Arabī inspired the celebrated *Lama'āt* of Faḵr al-Dīn 'Erāqī (d. 688/1289). Another disciple of Ebn 'Arabī, 'Arīf al-Dīn Soleymān from Tlemcen in Algeria, is known to have resided in Konya for many years. From the Islamic east there arrived in Anatolia four years before Dāya another migrant from Ḵārazm, Bahā al-Dīn Valad and his son, Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī, who was later to make of Konya

[32]See p. 49.
[33]See pp. 42-43.

one of the principal poles of spiritual attraction in the Islamic world. Finally, we may mention Owḥad al-Dīn Kermānī, who stayed for some time in Kayseri and Konya.[34] The appearance of Dāya in Anatolia was not, then, an isolated phenomenon, and he is reputed to have encountered there Ṣadr al-Dīn Qonyavī, Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī, and Owḥad al-Dīn Kermānī.[35]

An encounter he himself records took place soon after his arrival in Anatolia. In Malatya, Dāya met Shaikh Šehāb al-Dīn Abū Ḥafṣ 'Omar al-Sohravardī (d. 632/1234), nephew of Abū Najīb al-Sohravardī, the founder of the Sohravardī order. The younger Sohravardī had elaborated a certain fusion of Sufism with another initiatic tradition, that of *fotowwa*—the ideal of ethical manliness that inspired a series of chivalrous sodalities. He placed this fusion in the service of the Abbasid caliph al-Nāṣer le Dīn Allāh, who employed it in order to restore the political authority of the caliphate by binding the prominent and powerful to himself with an allegiance that transcended mere political loyalty.[36] When Dāya met Sohravardī, he had just completed a mission to 'Alā al-Dīn Keyqobād, the Saljuq ruler of Anatolia, on behalf of al-Nāṣer, and was on his way back to Baghdad.

Ebn Bībī's history of the Saljuqs of Anatolia confirms the meeting in Malatya between Dāya and Sohravardī. But whereas Dāya's account clearly implies that the *Merṣād* was written after the meeting with Sohravardī in order to be presented to Keyqobād, Ebn Bībī writes that the book was already written and dedicated to Keyqobād before Dāya came to Malatya.[37] The

[34]Concerning the cultural and religious life of Saljuq Konya, see Osman Turan, *Selçuklular Tarihi ve Türk-Islam Medeniyeti*, Istanbul, 1969, pp. 210 ff; and Claude Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey*, New York, 1968, pp. 252–258.

[35]Dāya's acquaintance with Qonyavī and Rūmī is reported by Jāmī in an anecdote that has him leading them in prayer (*Nafaḥāt al-ons*, p. 435); the anecdote is repeated by a wide variety of later sources. The cryptic and silent meeting that took place between Dāya and Owḥad al-Dīn Kermānī could have occurred either in Anatolia or later in Baghdad (*Manāqeb-e Owḥad al-dīn*, quoted in Riyāḥī's introduction to the *Merṣād*, p. 43).

[36]See Herbert Mason, *Two Statesmen of Mediaeval Islam*, The Hague, 1972, pp. 123–125; and Angelika Hartmann, *an-Nāṣir li-Dīn Allāh (1180–1225), Politik, Religion, Kultur in der späten Abbasidenzeit*, Berlin, 1975, pp. 111–121, 233–254.

[37]Ibn Bibi, *Histoire des Seldjoucides d'Asie Mineure* (Turkish text), ed. M. Th. Houtsma, Leiden, 1902, p. 226.

role of Sohravardī would have been, then, merely to recommend to Kayqobād an already complete work, not to suggest to Dāya that he present himself to the Saljuq court, thus indirectly inspiring the composition of his work. The discrepancy between the two accounts probably stems from the fact that the *Merṣād* exists in two distinct recensions. The first was completed soon after Dāya's arrival in Kayseri in Ramadān, 618/October 1221, and was intended as "a gift to true seekers and veracious lovers"; the second was completed in Sivas, in Rajab, 620/ August 1223, and was dedicated to Keyqobād. Dāya naturally made no mention of the first recension in the version he prepared for Keyqobād, wishing to present his work as exclusively inspired by the desire to present the monarch with a suitable gift. It is probable, then, that Dāya composed the work before his meeting with Sohravardī, but decided to revise it and dedicate it to Keyqobād at the suggestion of Sohravardī.[38]

Despite the bright expectations Dāya evidently had of his sojourn to Anatolia, and the encomium to Keyqobād that concludes the *Merṣād,* he was severely disappointed. In the *Marmūzāt-e Asadī dar mazmūrāt-e Dā'ūdī,* composed in Erzincan three years after the second recension of the *Merṣād,* he wrote this of his misfortunes:

> Three years I wandered in that land [Anatolia], up hill and down dale, residing for a time in each city, casting the coin of life's hours at every footstep I took. In its markets I saw all goods eagerly bought but the goods of religion; every trickster and charlatan found a customer, but the people of certainty found none; the market was sluggish and sales were slow for the masters of the Law and the Path, whereas those wed to instinctual nature and shamelessness enjoyed ever-increasing esteem. People rushed eagerly to buy donkey beads, but would not deign to look at the lustrous pearl. I found no one in that realm able to tell musk from dung, or the sincere from the swindler. However much I tested both the high and

[38]The difference between the two recensions is largely one of style, the second being more ornate and prolix than the first. See Riyāḥī's introduction, pp. 62-63.

> the low, I saw that the whole garden was planted with celery. When I thus discovered there was no host in the house, I fully detached my heart from the realm . . . and gladly, without any regret, turned my back on the whole herd.[39]

Dāya's new destination was Erzincan, a city ruled by a petty Turkish dynasty, the Mengüçeks, but still inhabited by a largely Armenian population. As for the Muslims of Erzincan, they also failed to win his approval, and he composed fourteen lines of verse in condemnation of them, calling them in the first "a people void of all humanity, with the seed of vileness sown in their souls."[40]
the prospect of a new patron, 'Alā al-Dīn Dā'ūd, the Mengüçek ruler. He was renowned for his interest in Persian letters, and it was to him that the great poet Neẓāmī Ganjavī (d. 605/1209) had dedicated his didactic poem, *Makzan al-asrār*. Dāya now composed the second work of his Anatolian sojourn, the *Marmūzāt-e Asadī dar mazmūrāt-e Dā'ūdī* (The Symbolic Expressions of Asadī [an allusion to one element of Dāya's name] concerning the Psalms of David). The second half of the title refers to the fact that each chapter of the book is introduced by a quotation from the Psalms; it is, however, at the same time a skillful reference to the name of the Mengüçek ruler. The work has been described as "a special edition" of the *Merṣād,* in that much of the material from the *Merṣād* is incorporated in it—with, however, the strictly Sufi portion diminished and the sections on kingly power greatly expanded.[41]
than the *Merṣād* and seems not to have exercised much influence; only a single manuscript survived. It is of some interest as a statement of traditional Persian views of kingship modified by a Sufi coloring.

After a series of provocations offered to the Saljuqs, Dā'ūd was overthrown by Keyqobād in 625/1228, and Erzincan was

[39] *Marmūzāt-e Asadī dar mazmūrāt-e Dā'ūdī,* Tehran, 1352 Š./1973, ed. Moḥammad Reżā Šafī'ī Kadkanī, p. 5.
[40] *Ibid.,* p. 6.
[41] See Hermann Landolt's English introduction to the work (p. 10), where he also makes an interesting comparison between the *Mazmūrāt* and Ġazālī's *Naṣīḥat al-molūk,* which was in some sense a royal edition of *Kīmiyā-ye sa'ādat.*

incorporated in the Saljuq realm. Dāya must have left Erzincan several years earlier, however, for in 622/1225 we find him traveling from Baghdad to Tabriz on a diplomatic mission for the Caliph, al-Ẓāher be Amr Allāh. In Tabriz he met Jalāl al-Dīn Ḵārazmšāh, son of the monarch who had put Majd al-Dīn Baḡdādī to death. Fleeing westward from the Mongol onslaught, Jalāl al-Dīn was seeking to organize resistance to the invaders. The *Merṣād* contains several exhortations to Muslim rulers to stand firm against the Mongols, so it is probable that Dāya looked upon him with favor, despite his father's misdeed.[42]
turned to Baghdad in the company of Qāżī Mojīr al-Dīn, the Ḵārazmšāh's ambassador, to find the Caliph dead.[43]

Nothing further is known of Dāya's worldly career; it is possible that he continued in the service of the caliphate. He died in Baghdad in 654/1256, two years before the city was conquered and sacked by the Mongols from whom he had fled thirty-five years earlier.[44] Remarkably, Dāya seems not to have left any successors, although al-Yāfe'ī mentions a certain Demyāṭī as having been his *morīd*.[45] He was buried in the Šoneyzīya cemetery, in the Karḵ area of Baghdād, near such luminaries of early Sufism as Ma'rūf Karḵī and Joneyd Baḡdādī.[46]
stands.

During this final phase of his life, which lasted approximately three decades, Dāya turned to writing in Arabic. Shortly before his death, he completed an Arabic version of the *Merṣād*, entitling it *Manārāt al-sā'erīn elā 'llāh wa maqāmāt al-ṭā'erīn be 'llāh* (Light Towers for Those Voyaging to God, and the Stations of Those Flying with God). In the preface to this he reversed the argument used to justify the composition of the *Merṣād* in Persian and declared his wish to benefit those who knew only Arabic. The work attained some fame, although never as much

[42]See pp. 40–41 and 383.
[43]Moḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Nasawī, *Sīrat al-solṭān Jalāl al-Dīn Mankūbartī*, ed. Ḥāfiẓ Aḥmad Ḥamdī, Cairo, 1953, p. 280.
[44]See Jāmī, *Nafaḥāt al-ons*, p. 435.
[45]'Abdollāh al-Yāfe'ī, *Mer'āt al-janān*, Hyderabad, 1339/1921, IV, 136.
[46]Louis Massignon, "Les Saints Musulmans Enterrés à Baghdad," *Opera Minora*, Beirut, 1963, p. 180.

as the *Merṣād;* curiously enough, it was translated into Persian for the Ottoman Sultan, Bāyazīd II.[47]

Far more important than this reworking, yet again, of the *Merṣād* was the Arabic commentary upon the Qur'an that Dāya composed in Baghdad. Indeed, it is to be regarded as one of the chief monuments of Sufi exegesis, and an edition of it must count as one of the major desiderata of Sufi studies. There has for long been much confusion surrounding this *tafsīr,* partly because it is referred to by several different names, and partly because two Kobravīs in addition to Dāya had a hand in its composition. It is known variously as *al-Ta'wīlāt al-najmīya, 'Ayn al-ḥayāt,* and *Baḥr al-ḥaqā'eq;* the last of these three designations appears to be the earliest. Kobrā himself began with the composition of a *tafsīr,* but did not proceed far beyond the opening chapter of the Qur'an. The work was then taken up by Dāya, who was overtaken by death before he could complete the commentary; he reached *sūrat al-najm (sūra* 53). Then came a later Kobravī, 'Alā al-Dowla Semnānī, who wrote a long and important preface on the principles of Sufi exegesis, and finally brought the *tafsīr* to its completion. The work, then, may be regarded in a sense as a joint Kobravī enterprise, but it has always been ascribed to Dāya, who did indeed write the major portion of it.[48]

Its fame spread very swiftly. An anecdote in Aflākī's *Manāqeb al-'ārefīn,* a collection of Mevlevī biographies, relates how it was first introduced to Anatolia: a certain Šehāb al-Dīn Maqbūlī of Tabriz presented a copy to 'Āref Čelebī (d. 719/1319), head of the Mevlevī order; he in turn passed it on to others, and caused copies to be made.[49]
manuscripts of this commentary found in Turkish libraries testifies to the popularity it enjoyed. At about the same time, the

[47]See Fritz Meier, "Stambuler Handschriften dreier persischer Mystiker: 'Ain al-quḍāt al-Hamadānī, Nağm ad-Dīn al-Kubrā, Nağm ad-Dīn Dāya," *Der Islam,* XXIV (1937), 36–38.

[48]See Moḥammad Ḥoseyn al-Dahabī, *at-Tafsīr wa 'l-mofasserūn,* Cairo, 1381/1961, I, 59–65; Henry Corbin, *En Islam Iranien,* Paris, 1972, III, 175–176, 276, n. 90; Mojtabā Mīnovī's introduction to Dāya, *Resāla-ye 'ešq o 'aql,* ed. Taqī Tafażżolī, Tehran, 1345 Š./1966, pp. 30–32; and Süleyman Ateş, *Işârî Tefsir Okulu,* Ankara, 1974, pp. 139-160.

[49]Aḥmad Aflākī, *Manāqeb al-'ārefīn,* ed. Tahsin Yazici, Ankara, 1967, II, 933.

important Shi'ite gnostic and writer, Ḥeydar Āmolī, praised Dāya's commentary as being "without like or peer," and declared that he had taken it as a model for his own Qur'an commentary, *al-Moḥīṭ al-a'ẓam*.[50] Large sections of Dāya's commentary were incorporated in *Rūḥ al-bayān*, the great work of the Turkish Sufi Esmā'īl Ḥaqqī Borūsawī (d. 1136/1724), and also the last specimen of this genre to be written, *Rūh al-ma'ānī* by Šehāb al-Dīn al-Alūsī (d. 1270/1854). Since both later commentaries have been printed, Dāya's work is partially accessible.

Before passing finally to some salient points of interest concerning the *Merṣād*, let us briefly review the lesser writings of Dāya. Probably in his youth, Dāya wrote a brief allegory in Persian called *Resālat al-ṭoyūr* (Treatise of the Birds), a theme more celebrated in its treatment by Avicenna and 'Aṭṭār.[51] Then he produced a short treatise in exposition of the celebrated utterance of Abu'l-Ḥasan Ḵaraqānī, "the Sufi is uncreate,"[52] and a longer piece on the respective virtues of love and intellect, with preference going to the former. This last work, variously entitled *Me'yār al-ṣedq fī meṣdāq al-'ešq* (The Criterion of Veracity concerning the Touchstone of Love) or simply *'Ešq o 'aql* (Love and Intellect), bears great similarity to certain sections of the *Merṣād*; it was probably a preliminary essay for part of that work, although the date of its composition is unknown.[53] Three other brief treatises have also been attributed to Dāya, but the ascriptions are probably inaccurate.[54]

III

The key word in the title of Dāya's masterpiece, *Merṣād*, rendered here as "path," is drawn from Qu'ran, 89:14: "Verily thy Lord watches over the path" *(enna rabbaka la be 'l-merṣād)*. The divine vigilance implied here is generally taken as referring to God's omniscience of men's deeds, but it is plain that Dāya takes it in a slightly different sense, that of a protective and

[50]Corbin, *En Islam Iranien*, III, 175.

[51]A synopsis of this work in German by Hellmut Ritter is given as an appendix to Meier's article, "Stambuler Handschriften," pp. 39-42.

[52]Meier, "Stambuler Handschriften," p. 38.

[53]See Mīnovī's introduction to *Resāla-ye 'ešq o'aql*, pp. 33-34.

[54]See Riyāḥī's introduction to the *Merṣād*, p. 53.

guarding vigilance. The word *merṣād* occurs in the text of the work also, as a synonym of *jādda-ye mostaqīm* (straight path; see p. 36 below), which further clarifies the sense in which Dāya uses it. The second part of the title, *men al-mabda' elā 'l-ma'ād,* "from origin to return," is to be found in the titles of many works that purport to treat in comprehensive fashion both cosmogony and eschatology and all that lies between. We may mention the poem of Sanā'ī, *Seyr al-'ebād elā al-ma'ād;*[55] a work by Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī entitled with the Persian equivalent of *mabda'* and *ma'ad, Āġāz va anjām;* the *Resāla-ye mabda' va ma'ād* of Shaikh Aḥmad Serhendī (d. 1034/1624);[56]
by the celebrated Shi'ite sage, Mollā Ṣadrā Šīrāzī (d. 1050/ 1640).[57]

The comprehensiveness promised in this title of the work is amply fulfilled in its text. It deals, in a systematic manner, with the origins of the various realms and orders of creation, prophethood and the different dimensions of religion, the ritual practices, mores, and institutions of Sufism, the destinations that await different classes of men in the hereafter, and the fashion in which different professions and trades may come to yield spiritual benefit and heavenly reward. Thus it provides a full conspectus of Sufism, combining exposition of doctrine with description of method. It is unique in this respect, excelling earlier expository texts which lack the degree of elaboration, systematization, and explicitness that characterized the Sufism of the seventh/thirteenth century. The *Merṣād* can indeed be regarded as a summation of the historical elaboration of Sufism down to the period of this "second flowering."

A particular virtue of the book is its clear demonstration of the Qur'anic origins of Sufism. The numerous quotations from the Qur'an found in Dāya's work are not to be regarded as mere ornament, nor even as scriptural proofs adduced in support of various statements. Rather, they bear witness to the fact that

[55]Contained in *Maṣnavīhā-ye Ḥakīm Sanā'ī,* ed. Moḥammad Taqī Modarres Rażavī, Tehran, 1348 Š./1969, pp. 181-316.
[56]Published at Delhi, n.d.
[57]See S. H. Nasr, "Ṣadr al-Dīn Shīrāzī," in *A History of Muslim Philosophy,* ed, M. M. Sharif, Wiesbaden, 1966, II, p. 935.

for Dāya, as for other Sufis, the Qur'an constitutes a well-structured, seamless, and coherent universe. The coherence of the Qur'anic universe is not immediately apparent; a process of *ta'vīl,* of esoteric exegesis, is required to perceive and uncover it. In his celebrated Qur'an commentary, Dāya has left behind a great monument of *ta'vīl,* and the *Merṣād* also contains important elements of Sufi exegesis. The Qur'anic verses encountered throughout the book are the loom on which it is woven, a particular sense for each verse being implied by the context in which it occurs.

Another prominent feature of the book is the frequency with which it draws parallels between the inner and the outer worlds, particularly with reference to processes of growth and development (the progress of seed, tree, branch, and fruit; the emergence of the hen from the egg; the refining of sugar and the baking of bread, to name but a few examples). This also should not be taken as a mere literary device. For characteristic of the Sufi world view is a belief in the morphological affinity of all orders of being: form and meaning, higher and lower, microcosm and macrocosm, world and hereafter. Dāya says in his commentary on the Qur'an: "Verily all that God created in the world of form has its like in the world of meaning; all that He created in the world of meaning—this being the hereafter—has its true essence in the world of reality, which is the uttermost unseen. Know too that of all that God created in all the worlds, a specimen and sample is present in man."[58] It follows, then, that inner and unseen processes may be accurately described in terms of their outer counterparts.

The "originality" of Dāya lies generally in his systematization and elaboration of what went before. There is, however, one respect in which he appears to be an innovator—the enumeration and description of the subtle centers of perception *(laṭā'ef).* He added to the fourfold scheme known to earlier Sufis—heart, spirit, intelligence, mystery—a fifth element, the "arcane" *(ḵāfī).* Two other elements were added later by another Kobravī, 'Alā al-Dowla Semnānī, who, as we have seen, also acted as the cul-

[58]Quoted in Esmā'īl Ḥaqqī, *Rūḥ al-bayān,* Istanbul, 1389/1970, I, 404.

minator of Dāya's work in taking his Qur'an commentary to its conclusion.[59]

Apart from the dominant religious interest of the work, it also offers much historical information. Dāya's recurrent condemnation of the hellenizing philosophers, although typical for Sufism and akin to numerous utterances of Ḡazālī, Sanā'ī, 'Aṭṭār, and Rūmī, doubtless owes some of its vigor to the ascendancy of Faḵr al-Dīn Rāzī in Ḵārazm and the hostility manifested by that philosopher to the Sufis. In this connection, his denunciation of Ḵayyām and scornful quoting of some of the notorious quatrains is one of the earliest proofs that Ḵayyām the philosopher and mathematician was also Ḵayyām the poet. The awestruck mention of the Mongols at various points in the work gives some indication of the apocalyptic impact of that barbaric onslaught on the Muslim world. Finally, the fifth part of the book is rich in incidental information on social and administrative history: the rapaciousness of the king's appointees when left to their own devices, the venality of the judiciary, the duties of king and minister, the qualities expected of a pious merchant, and so forth. This part is in itself deserving of detailed analysis as a document of Perso-Islamic political philosophy, couched in distinctively Sufi terms.

The literary importance of the *Merṣād* is considerable: it ranks among the masterpieces of Persian literature, and certain sections—particularly the narrative of the creation and appointment of Adam—bear comparison with the best prose written in Persian.[60] Dāya's choice of illustrative verses—both those of his own composition and those of his predecessors—is judicious, and makes of his work an incidental anthology of Sufi poetry, particularly quatrains.

Ever since its composition, Dāya's work has enjoyed a continuous and wide popularity in the Islamic world that has far transcended the confines of the Kobravī order. The broad diffusion of the work is attested to by the abundance of manuscript

[59]See p. 134 n. 9.

[60]For a discussion of the stylistic qualities of the *Merṣād*, see Moḥammad Taqī Bahār, *Sabkšenāsī*, Tehran, 1337 Š./1958, III, 22-27.

copies to be found in the libraries of Iran, India, Central Asia, and Turkey, an abundance that stands in contrast to the rarity of many early works on Sufism restored to prominence in recent times by the labors of Orientalists. Quotations from the *Merṣād* are to be found in a wide range of later Persian works on Sufism, and its unacknowledged influence is visible in still more numerous writings.[61] The *Merṣād* appears to have reached India in the lifetime of its author, for the early fourteenth-century historiographer Baranī lists it among the Sufi works that became popular in Delhi thanks to the ascendancy of the Češtī order.[62] About two centuries later, in Ebn 'Omar Meḥrābī's *Ḥojjat al-Hend,* a polemic against Hinduism, we find extracts from the *Merṣād* being placed in the mouth of a parrot instructing a princess in Islam.[63] Dāya's arguments concerning the inadequacy of Brahmanic mysticism must have aroused particular interest in India. The *Merṣād* exercised great influence in Turkish Anatolia, the land of its composition, in both the Persian original and a much-read Turkish translation made in the ninth/fifteenth century by one Qāsem b. Maḥmūd Qaraḥeṣārī and dedicated to Sultan Morād II.[64] Finally, we may note that the *Merṣād* was known also in China. Among the Sino-Muslim manuscripts brought from Kansu to Europe in 1909 by the d'Ollone mission, together with several Naqšbandī works, was a copy of the *Merṣād* containing marginal glosses in a North Chinese idiom written in the Arabic script.[65] In short, the influence of the *Merṣād* permeated virtually the whole of the Islamic world, with the exception of its Arab

[61]Among the works containing quotations from the *Merṣād,* we may mention the following: Ḥāfeẓ Ḥoseyn Karbālā'ī Tabrīzī, *Rowżāt al-jenān va jannāt al-janān,* ed. Ja'far Solṭān Qorrā'ī, Tehran, 1349 S./1970; 'Azīz al-Dīn Nasafī, *Kašf al haqā'eq,* Tehran, 1965; Kāšefī Vā'ez Sabzevārī, *Fotovvatnāma-ye solṭānī,* ed. Moḥammad Ja'far Maḥjūb, Tehran, 1353 S./1974; Mo'aẕẕen Ḵorāsānī, *Toḥfat al-'abbāsīya,* Shiraz, 1342 Š./1963; 'Abd al-Ṣamad Hamadānī, *Baḥr al-ma'āref,* Tabriz, 1293/1876; and Moḥammad Ja'far Kabūdarāhangī, *Mer'āt al-ḥaqq,* Tehran, 1315 Š./1937.

[62]*Tārīḵ-e Fīrūzšāhī,* quoted by Annemarie Schimmel, *Mystical Dimensions of Islam,* Chapel Hill, 1975, p. 348. See too Aziz Ahmad, *Studies in Islamic Culture in the Indian Environment,* Oxford, 1964, p. 133.

[63]See Schimmel, *Mystical Dimensions of Islam,* p. 257.

[64]Meier, "Stambuler Handschriften," pp. 34-35.

[65]Alessandro Bausani, "Un caso estremo di diffusione della scrittura araba: il 'sino-arabo,'" *Oriente Moderno,* XLVIII (1968), 875.

and African regions. Western scholarship, by contrast, has paid little attention to this important work.[66]

The Persian text of the *Merṣād* was first published in Tehran in 1312/1894 by 'Abd al-Ḡaffār Najm al-Dowla, and then again in 1352/1933 by Ḥoseyn Šams al-'Orafā Ne'matollāhī, one of the most celebrated Iranian Sufis of recent times. Both printings were unreliable, since the editors were evidently unaware of the existence of two recensions of the *Merṣād*, and the texts they produced were an arbitrary melange of the two. A new edition, based upon a critical examination of numerous manuscripts, was prepared by Dr. Amīn Rīyāḥī and published in Tehran in 1352 Š./1972. The text of Dr. Rīyāḥī, upon which this translation is based, represents chiefly the second or "royal" recension, although in some parts he has used the first recension as the basis for his edition.

I have striven to make this translation of Dāya's masterpiece as close to the original as is compatible with comprehensibility. The syntactic complexity of many sentences, atypical for Persian, the frequency of multiple *eżāfa* constructions, and the parenthetic insertion of Qur'anic verses or fragments of verses all present particular problems; the reader must judge how felicitously the translator was able to solve them. It should be borne in mind that the stylistic qualities of the original—reflected to some degree, I hope, in the translation—addressed themselves to an esthetic and spiritual sensibility different from that of the modern world, so that the translation is, in a sense, an invitation to transpose oneself to the realm of an archaic sensibility.

It is a commonplace of Sufism that true knowledge of the Path is to be had from men, not from books; books can at best be a temporary substitute for the presence of a living preceptor. But the traditional Muslim audience for which Sufi writings were

[66]Apart from Meier's bibliographical article ("Stambuler Handschriften"), we may mention the chapter "Doctrine des photismes chez Najm Razi," in Henry Corbin's *L'Homme de Lumière dans le Soufisme Iranien*, Paris, 1971, pp. 154–163; a brief notice of the *Merṣād* by R. C. Zaehner in his *Hindu and Muslim Mysticism*, London, 1960, pp. 180–183; and some passages from the work translated in A. J. Arberry, *Classical Persian Literature*, London, 1958, pp. 248–253, and Cyprian Rice in *The Persian Sufis*, London, 1964, pp. 91–97.

destined at least enjoyed some acquaintance with the Qur'anic source of Sufism and lived, if less intensely and consciously, in the same conceptual universe as the Sufi masters. Such will not be the case with most readers of this translation. I have therefore added to the translation notes that not merely clarify references and allusions and identify the sources of quotations, but also seek to elucidate the meaning of terms and phrases whenever necessary. I have thus sought to be not merely the translator of Dāya's work from Persian to English, but also, in some measure, his interpreter to a new audience.

In conclusion, just as Dāya intended his work to fulfill purposes peculiar to his own age, let it be permitted to the translator to express the hope that the *Merṣād* in English garb will meet certain needs of the present time. I hope first, that it will serve to refute the pseudo-Sufis of the present age who wish to detach Sufism from its Qur'anic roots, and that it will offer, as Dāya puts it, a "touchstone" against which to strike their claims; second, that it may reintroduce modern-minded Muslims to the inward dimension of their religion and to the riches of Sufism that they all too frequently neglect or deny; and finally that it may provide students of comparative religion with a comprehensive, authentic, and coherent account of Sufism.

From God is success, and upon Him reliance.

Hamid Algar
Ẕu'l-ḥejja 1399/October 1979

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Prologue

Praise without end and laudation without limit to that Monarch from Whose munificence the existence of all beings results, and Whose existence is praised and magnified by their excellence—"there is naught but celebrates His praise";[1] that Lord Who, out of the creativity of His nature and the artistry of His wisdom, inscribed, with the pen of generosity, the impress of souls on the leaf of nonbeing; Who concealed the Water of Life that is gnosis in the darkness of the createdness of the human state—"in your own selves too are signs; will ye not then see?";[2] Who enabled the distraught and thirsty wanderers in the desert of the search to tread, like Alexander,[3]
ness of human attributes with the foot of sincerity; and Who, in His uncaused grace, brought those like Ḵeżr[4]
burned with the fire of love to the fountainhead of the Water of Life that is gnosis—"is he who was dead, to whom We gave life, and a light to walk by among men, like him who is in the darkness and comes not forth therefrom?"[5]

[1]Qur'an, 17:44.

[2]Qur'an, 51:21.

[3]Alexander was depicted in the legend evolved by medieval Islam as the archetype of the seeker after illumination. His progress through the world was seen as inspired not so much by a lust for conquest as by a desire for mystical knowledge, his outer journey serving as the mirror and support of the inner journey; an attempt was made to identify him with the figure designated as Ẕu'l-Qarnayn (The Two-Horned One) in Qur'an, 18:83 ff. His goal, the Water of Life, signifying *ma'refat/'erfān* (gnosis; direct cognition of reality), was found concealed in a region of utter darkness on the fringe of the earth. The source of illumination is analogously to be found hidden in the tenebrous density of man's corporeal state. Dāya makes frequent reference and allusion to these components of the Alexander legend, which is one of the favored themes of Persian narrative poetry. It has been treated with particular mastery by Neẓāmī of Ganja (d. 605/1209; a prose translation of his version by H. Wilberforce Clarke, *Book of Alexander the Great,* appeared in London in 1881), Amīr Ḵosrow of Delhi (d. 725/1325), and 'Abd al-Raḥmān Jāmī (d. 898/1492). The works of these three inspired a host of imitations not only in Persian but also in Turkish and Urdu, so that the theme of Alexander as the spiritual seeker became part of the literary patrimony of all the Muslim East. See the article "Iskender-Nâme" by Orhan Şâik Gökyay in *Islâm Ansiklopedisi,* V, 1088–1090.

[4]Ḵeżr: the ubiquitous and immortal personification of the initiatic principle, generally identified with the unnamed figure encountered by Moses and mentioned in Qur'an, 18:65–82. He appears also in the Alexander legend as the supreme guide on the path, who finally conducts him to the Water of Life.

[5]Qur'an, 6:122.

Salutations without number and plaudits without bound to those sanctified spirits in unsullied frames, the one hundred and twenty thousand and more instances of prophethood and repositories of manly nobility, who were wayfarers on the paths of Truth and exemplary guides in the lands of the Law—"these it is to whom We have given the Book, and authority and prophethood,"[6]
of the caravan of saints, Moḥammad the Chosen One, may God bless and give abundant peace to him and his family, his wives and goodly, pure descendants, his righteous successors, rightly guiding and rightly guided, and all of his companions.

O brothers in God's guidance, and companions in the reverential fear of Him! May God enable us all to rise from the depths of the human state to the summit of His servitude, and grant us that we slough off the attributes of the human domain and don those of the divine domain. Know that the purpose and essence of all creation is the existence of man, and all that partakes of existence throughout the twin realms does so by virtue of his existence. If one possesses clear and total vision, he will recognize that all of existence is man.

Thou art the height and depth of this world.
I know not who thou art; all that is, thou art.[7]

The purpose of the existence of man is knowledge of the essence and attributes of God Almighty. Thus when David asked: "O Lord, why didst Thou bring forth creation?" the Almighty answered: "I was a hidden treasure, and I desired to be known; thus I brought forth creation, that I might be known."[8] True

[6]Qur'an, 6:89.

[7]A verse from the *Šāhnāma* of Ferdowsī (Tehran edition, 1313 Š./1934, IV, 1003), which according to a dream of the celebrated Sufi Abu'l-Qāsem Gorgānī (d. 450/1058) earned the poet forgiveness for his sins (Daulatšāh Samarqandī, *Tadhkiratu'sh-shu'arā,* ed. E. G. Browne, Leiden, 1901,.p. 102). It is frequently quoted in Sufi literature; see, for example, the *Lama'āt* of Rāzī's contemporary, Faḵr al-Dīn 'Erāqī (in *Kollīyāt-e 'Erāqī,* ed. Sa'īd Nafīsī, Tehran, 1338 Š./1959, p. 386).

[8]A *ḥadīs qodsī,* that is, a saying attributed to the Prophet in which the Almighty speaks in the first person. It is a constant point of reference of the Sufis, but its status as *ḥadīs* is dubious. See Badī' al-Zamān Forūzānfar, *Aḥādīs-e Masnavī* (2nd ed., Tehran, 1347 Š./1968), p. 29.

knowledge of God can be attained only by man, for although the angels and the jinn are his partners in the worship of God, man was set apart from all other beings by accepting the burden of the Trust of this knowledge. "We offered the Trust to the heavens and the earth and the mountains, but they refused to bear it, being afraid thereof, and man accepted to bear it."[9] By the heavens are meant their inhabitants—the angels; by the earth, its inhabitants—the animals, jinn, and demons; by the mountains, their inhabitants—the wild beasts and birds. None of these was fit to bear the burden of the Trust of knowledge, for out of all creation it was only man whose soul desired to be a mirror to the beauty of the Divine Presence and to manifest all of His attributes, both passively and actively.[10] This is the meaning of the saying that "God created Adam in His own image."[11]

The essence of the soul of man is the heart, and the heart is like a mirror, with the two realms of creation enclosing it like a pericardium. It is in this mirror that all the attributes of the beauty and splendor of the Divine Presence are manifested. Thus He said: "We will show them Our signs upon the horizons and in their souls."[12]

> Men and jinn have their being for the sake of the mirror;
> Throughout the twin realms, every gaze falls on the mirror.
> The heart is the mirror of that imperial beauty,
> And these twin realms are the cover of that mirror.[13]

When the soul, inherently disposed to the state of mirrorhood, is nurtured and brought to perfection, it will observe in itself the manifestation of all the divine attributes. It will know itself and the purpose for which it has been created, and thus realize the

[9]Qur'an, 33:72.

[10]It has been suggested that this passage of the work, with its evocation of the "burden of the Trust," served to inspire the following line in the *Dīvān* of Ḥāfeẓ (ed. Moḥammad Qazvīnī and Qāsem Ḡanī, Tehran, n.d., p. 125): The heavens were unable to bear the burden of the Trust; the task fell to the lot of this crazed one.

[11]Tradition recorded by Bokārī, Moslem, and Ebn Ḥanbal.

[12]Qur'an, 41:53.

[13]A quatrain presumably composed by Dāya himself.

meaning of the saying that "he who knows his self knows also his Lord."[14] It will come to recognize its own nature and to understand the mystery on account of which it has been ennobled and preferred. This feeble one says:

O thou copy of the script divine!
O thou mirror of the royal beauty!
Naught in the world lies outside of thee;
Ask of thyself thine every desire, thou art it![15]

But for the soul of man to reach the perfection of the degree that is lustrous mirrorhood, many paths and perilous places must be traversed, a task fulfilled only by following the highway of the Law, the Path, and the Truth.[16] As iron is extracted from the mine and treated with numerous subtle stratagems in water and fire, passing from the hand of one craftsman to another in order gradually to become a mirror, so too man is the mine from which the iron for this mirror is extracted. "Men are mines, like mines of gold and silver."[17] The iron must be carefully brought forth from the mine of man's being and then tempered until, passing gradually through a series of degrees, it attains the rank of mirrorhood.

The reed thou seest standing tall on the shore
Grows and sprouts from stem to stem.[18]

[14]A saying variously attributed to the Prophet and 'Alī b. Abū Ṭāleb (see Forūzānfar, *Aḥādīṣ-e Maṣnavī*, p. 167); it is of almost universal occurrence in Sufi literature.

[15]Although this quatrain is here identified as Dāya's own composition, it is frequently ascribed in other works to Bābā Afżal al-Dīn Kāšānī (d. 654/1256 or 664/1265), a prolific writer on mystical and philosophical themes in both Arabic and Persian. The same is true of several other quatrains quoted in this work.

[16]This triad of Law, Path, and Truth refers to the outer dimension of religion, its inner aspect, and the center which vivifies and lies at the heart of both of these. The concern of the Law is with man's bodily frame; that of the Path with his heart; and that of the Truth with his spirit (see third part, chapters five, seven, and eight).

[17]Tradition recorded by Bokārī, Moslem, and Ebn Ḥanbal.

[18]An Arabic verse of unknown origin.

Contents

This book concerning wayfaring on the road of religion and attainment of the realm of certainty, the training of the human soul and the knowledge of the divine attributes, has been composed in five parts and forty chapters, which shall presently be set forth, God Almighty willing.

List of Parts and Chapters

the heart in accordance with the code of the Path, and the knowledge thereof; the eighth, concerning the adornment of the spirit in accordance with the code of the Truth, and the knowledge thereof; the ninth, concerning the necessity of a shaikh for man's training and wayfaring; the tenth, concerning the station of shaikhhood, its conditions and attributes; the eleventh, concerning the conditions, attributes, and customs of the *morīd;* the twelfth, concerning the need for *zekr,* and the special properties of the *zekr* of *lā elāha ellā'llāh;* the thirteenth, concerning the method of uttering *zekr,* its conditions and customs; the fourteenth, concerning the need of the *morīd* for transmission of *zekr* by the shaikh, and the property of such transmission; the fifteenth, concerning the necessity of seclusion, and its conditions and customs; the sixteenth, concerning certain visions deriving from the unseen, and the difference between dreams and visions; the seventeenth, concerning the witnessing of lights and the degrees thereof; the eighteenth, concerning unveiling and its varieties; the nineteenth, concerning the manifestation of the Divine Essence and attributes; and the twentieth, concerning attaining to the divine presence, with neither absorption nor separation.

Fourth Part: Concerning the return of the souls of the felicitous and the wretched, and containing four chapters. God Almighty said: "And among them some wrong their own souls; some follow a middle course; and some are foremost in good works, by God's leave."[1] And again, "None shall fall into the fiercely blazing fire but the most wretched one, who calls the Truth a lie and turns away."[2] The first chapter is concerning the return of the oppressive soul, which is the reproachful soul; the second, concerning the return of the soul that follows a middle path, which is the inspired soul; the third, concerning the return of the foremost soul, which is the tranquil soul; and the fourth, concerning the return of the most wretched soul, which is the commanding soul.

Fifth Part: Concerning the wayfaring of different classes of men, and containing eight chapters: the first, concerning the

[1]Qur'an, 35:32.
[2]Qur'an, 92:16.

wayfaring of kings and the lords of command; the second, concerning the state of kings, their conduct toward each group of their subjects, and their solicitude for the people; the third, concerning the wayfaring of ministers, men of the pen and deputies; the fourth, concerning the wayfaring of the different classes of scholar—experts in the law, preachers, and judges; the fifth, concerning the wayfaring of the possessors of bounty and the holders of wealth; the sixth, concerning the wayfaring of farmers, village headmen, and peasants; the seventh, concerning the wayfaring of merchants; and the eighth, concerning the wayfaring of tradesmen and craftsmen.

First Part:

The Introduction to the Book Containing Three Chapters, in Accordance with the Blessed Saying of God Almighty: Ye Shall Be Three Bands[1]

[1]Qur'an, 56:7.

First Chapter:
Concerning the Utility of Composing This Work on the Sayings of the Men of the Path and the Means of Wayfaring

God Almighty said: "So We have made the Qur'an easy by thy tongue, that thou mayest give glad tidings to the Godfearing and warn a stubborn people."[2] The Prophet, upon whom be peace, said: "A word of wisdom is the lost property of every wise man."[3]

Know that discourse concerning the Truth and exposition of wayfaring on the Path bring forth the promptings of longing and the urgings of desire in the inner beings of those disposed to the search, and kindle the sparks of the fire of love in the hearts of the sincerely devoted, particularly when such discourse arises from the vision of sincere lovers and those who have attained realization.

> He whose heart is full of love's fire,
> Every tale that he tells will be alluring.
> Seldom now do you hear the tale of a lover,
> So hearken unto it, it is most sweet.[4]

Even the neglectful and unaware may awaken through the auspicious effect of such discourse, for one cannot know what key will unlock the door to the felicity of the search. It has been said that "at times the ear will love before the eye,"[5] and indeed it was through the door of the ear that the auspicious effect of such discourse came to those who said: "Our Lord! We have heard a caller calling us to belief, saying 'believe in your Lord,' and we have believed."[6]

[2] Qur'an, 19:97.
[3] A Tradition of slightly different wording—"a word of wisdom is the lost property of every believer"—is recorded by Termeẕī and Ebn Māja.
[4] A quatrain presumably of Dāya's own composition.
[5] The second half of a line of verse by the Arabic-writing Persian poet, Baššār b. Bord (d. 167/783). See Ebn Ḵallekān, *Wafayāt al-aʿyān*, ed. Aḥmad Farīd Refāʿī, Cairo, 1367/1948, III, 22.
[6] Qur'an, 3:193.

sown in the soil of hearts by the hand of the divine summons, "am I not your Lord?"[7] It then remained to be seen which fortunate ones would be enabled to nurture that seed, for the eternal realm of love is not bestowed on every monarch and king.

Not every Solomon is given the kingdom of His search;
  Nor every soul and heart the charter of His sorrow.
Those who seek relief are deprived of His pain,
  For it is a pain not given to those desiring relief.

While no man is free of the tribulation of aspiring to such love, nonetheless the searching hand of every aspirant cannot reach the skirt of majesty of this auspicious fortune. "Religion is not by aspiration." This feeble one says:

When my heart was smitten with the charms of his face,
  My body became thinner than a hair on his head.
Not every hand may reach out to touch him—
  Who even am I? A nobody in his domain!

A further purpose in the exposition of wayfaring is the refutation of those evil ones of bestial aspect who worship their own passions and devote all their energies to the utmost enjoyment of bestial, animal and predatory pleasures and lusts. Being content like beasts and cattle with what the passing moment offers them, they are barred from the joys experienced by men of God and the enjoyments of those who draw near to Him. Out of all the perfections of religion and the degrees of the people of certainty, they content themselves with the mere form of prayer and negligent, careless fasting, polluted by endless impurities. Let them not say tomorrow, like the rest of the rueful band, "we were unaware of these auspicious matters. 'If we had heard or understood, we would not be among the people of the flames.'"[8]

Joneyd—may God sanctify his cherished spirit!—was once asked how the sayings and narratives of the shaikhs profited the

[7]Qur'an, 7:171. This question, addressed to men's souls in pre-eternity, and the answer *balā* ("indeed Thou art!"), constituted a pact of fealty to God binding on men for all time.
[8]Qur'an, 47:10.

morīd. He replied that they strengthened his heart, made steadfast his foot of exertion, and renewed his fidelity to the search.[9] They then asked him if he was sure his answer was from the Qur'an. He affirmed that it was, and recited: "All that We relate to thee of the tidings of the Messengers is that whereby We make firm thy heart."[10] It has been said too that "the words of the shaikhs are the armies of God upon earth," in the sense that they afford assistance to seekers on the path. If, for example, some luckless wayfarer is deprived of the guidance of a perfect shaikh, and during his search, ascetic practice, and inner combat, Satan wishes to bar his way by inciting him to doubtful or innovative practice, he may then hold fast to the words of the shaikhs and strike the coin of his state against the touchstone of their trenchant speech. Thus he may escape from the grasp of satanic temptation and the whisperings of his soul, and return to the road of the straight path, and the highway of the upright faith.

For on this path, highway robbers are numerous—demons in human and jinn form—and if the traveler goes forth without guide or escort, he will soon be cast into the valley of doom. Shaikh Abū Sa'īd b. Abu'l-Ḵeyr, upon whom be the mercy of God, said that the *morīd* should each day relate or listen to an amount of discourse of the shaikhs equivalent to one thirtieth of the Qur'an.[11] For as has truly been said, one delights in frequent remembrance of what one cherishes.

[9]Abu'l-Qāsem Joneyd (d. 297 or 298/910 or 911): one of the most prominent early Sufis of Baghdad, and the first to produce a systematic account of Sufism in written form. The literature of Sufism is replete with references to him, often with the honorific epithet *šeyḵ al-ṭā'efa* (The Elder of the Group); two recent studies are Ali Hasan Abdel-Kader, *The Life, Personality and Writings of Al-Junayd,* London, 1962, and Süleyman Ateş, *Cüneyd-e Bağdâdî, Hayati, Eserleri ve Mektuplari,* Istanbul, 1970.

[10]Qur'an 11:120.

[11]Abū Sa'īd b. Abu'l-Ḵeyr (d. 440/1049): one of the earliest Sufis of Khorasan, and the first notable mystic to have expressed himself in Persian. The origins of the Sufi hospice *(ḵānaqāh)* are closely associated with him, and to him are attributed the first Persian Sufi quatrains. The main source for his life is the biography written by his grandson, Moḥammad b. al-Monavvar, *Asrār al-towḥīd fī maqāmāt al-šeyḵ Abū Sa'īd,* ed. Ẕabīḥollāh Ṣafā, Tehran, 1348 Š./1969, now available in French translation (Mohammad Achena, *Les Etapes Mystiques du Shaykh Abu Sa'id,* Paris, 1974). See too R. A. Nicholson, *Studies in Islamic Mysticism,* Cambridge, 1921, pp. 1–76.

For these reasons, certain travelers on the Path and wayfarers in the world of Truth, who have amassed a quantity of this auspicious fortune while voyaging along the highway of rectitude, have conformed to the precept that "the purifying due shall be rendered on everything,"[12] and obeying the injunction to grant everyone his right, they have regarded it as incumbent on their generosity to give the deserving their due. Thus they have bestowed a draught from the fountainhead of the Water of Life that is gnosis on the thirsty wanderers in the desert of the search, so that pain may be added to their pain, longing to their longing, and thirst to their thirst.

I am like sand, and drink in the water of Thy grief;
The more I drink, the greater is my thirst.

[12]The first part of a Tradition which states that "the purifying due incumbent on the body is fasting" (Ebn Māja).

Second Chapter:
Concerning the Reason for Writing the Book, Particularly in Persian

God Almighty said: "We have sent no messenger save with the tongue of his people that he might make all clear to them."[1] The Prophet, upon whom be peace, said: "Address people in accordance with their degree of intelligence."

Know that although many books have been written concerning the Path, both detailed and concise, and in them many matters and truths set forth, most of them are in Arabic, and they benefit men of Persian tongue but little.

> 'Tis of the ancient grief one must tell the new beloved,
> And in her tongue that one must make address.
> To say *lā taf'al* and *ef'al* is of little use;
> If thou art with Persians, 'tis *kon* and *makon* thou must say.[2]

For some time a group of truth-desiring seekers and sincere *morīds* has been demanding of my feeble self a compendium in Persian, notwithstanding my lack of means and inability. Such compendia have already been penned, in accordance with the capacity and need of every class. They desired, however, one that should be slight of girth and rich in content; set forth the beginning and end of creation, the start of wayfaring and the finish of voyaging; and treat of the goal and the destination, the lover and the beloved. It should be a world-displaying goblet,[3] and a mirror to God's beauty; it should both benefit the deficient beginner on the path and profit the perfect adept drawing near to the goal.

[1] Qur'an, 14:4.

[2] A quatrain of unknown origin. *Lā taf'al* and *ef'al:* "do not" and "do" in Arabic; *kon* and *makon:* "do" and "do not" in Persian.

[3] An allusion to the miraculous goblet owned by the legendary Iranian monarch Jamšīd, a vessel that enabled its possessor to survey the entirety of creation. One of the most common motifs in Persian poetry, it generally corresponds in Sufi symbolism to the purified human heart that reflects the manifestation of the divine attributes in creation (Seyyed Ja'far Sajjādī, *Farhang-e moṣṭalaḥāt-e 'orafā va motaṣavvefa,* Tehran, 1339 Š./1960, pp. 130–131).

While I was in the lands of Iraq and Khorasan, never long settled before departing once again, the hindrances of misfortune and calamity robbed me of the leisure and opportunity to undertake the completion of such a work. For each day some new disaster would emerge, and bring distraction to my heart and confusion to my mind. It was as if that region were the homeland of disaster, just as the Prophet, upon whom be peace, once said, pointing to the east, "thence shall come disaster."[4]

Yet we did not quietly accept those disasters; did not bow our heads to heavenly decree and divine destiny; did not come forth with patience and submission; did not offer thanks for religion and Islam; did not say, "some evils are lesser than others." Instead, we showed ingratitude for the blessing of Islam until the ineluctable and awesome blows of "if ye are thankless, My chastisement is surely terrible"[5] descended on those lands and their people. Through the sinister effect of the licentiousness of the frivolous and the oppression of the tyrannical, and in accordance with God's custom—"and when We desire to destroy a city, We command its men who live at ease and they commit wickedness therein; thus is Our word proved true against them, and We destroy them utterly"[6]—ruination was visited upon those lands and their inhabitants.

All the oppression that heaven works is, in short,
  Less than we deserve, if the truth should be told.
Never did I show gratitude for His bounty,
  So inevitably He cast me into trouble and toil.

It was in the year 617 (1220) that the godforsaken army of the Tartar infidels, may God forsake and destroy them, conquered all those lands. The confusion and ruin, the killing and seizure of captives, the destruction and burning that were enacted by those accursed creatures had never before been witnessed in any age, whether in the lands of the infidels or the realm of Islam, nor had they ever been recorded in any book of history. They re-

[4]A different version of this Tradition, which has the Prophet pointing to Iraq, is to be found in Ebn Ḥanbal.
[5]Qur'an, 14:7.
[6]Qur'an, 17:16.

semble only the catastrophes that shall ensue at the end of time, foretold by the Prophet, upon whom be peace: "The hour shall not come until you fight the Turks, a people with small eyes, red faces and slight, flat noses, whose countenances are like the skin drawn tight over a shield." This saying of his is indeed a description of these accursed infidels. He then added: "And anarchy shall be rampant." When asked, "what shall that anarchy be?" he replied, "killing, killing abundant."[7] In truth, this event is none other than that which the Messenger of God, upon whom be peace, foresaw with the light of prophethood more than six hundred years ago. Could killing be more extensive than this, that in the city and province of Ray alone, where this feeble one was born and spent his youth, it has been estimated that they killed and took captive about five hundred thousand people?[8]

The calamity and disaster inflicted by those damned, accursed ones on all of Islam and the Muslims are more than can be expressed in words; and this event is, moreover, too famed throughout the world to need description. But if, God forbid, feelings of honor and jealous concern for Islam do not arise in the breasts of kings and sultans to whose care the protection of Islam and the Muslims has been entrusted—"the prince is a shepherd for his subjects and accountable for them"[9]—if the magnanimity and manly courage of the faith do not lay hold of their souls so that they join in union and gird on the belt of obedience to the command of "go forth, light and heavy laden, and struggle in God's way with your possessions and your selves;"[10] if they do not sacrifice their lives, their riches, and their king-

[7]This Tradition is to be found in Bok̲ārī and Ebn Māja. Its applicability to the Mongols derives partly from the fact that the bulk of the Mongol soldiery was Turkish (see Bertold Spuler, *Die Mongolen in Iran*, Berlin, 1955, p. 237) and partly from the failure ever to make a clear differentiation between Turk and Mongol, the term *Tātār* serving as a general designation for both non-Islamicized Turks and for Mongols. Fażlollāh Rūzbehān K̲onjī, writing in the tenth/sixteenth century, says that the *'olamā* of Transoxania were unanimously agreed on the applicability of this tradition to Holāgū and his armies (*Transoxanien und Turkestan zu Beginn des 16, Jahrhunderts*, a translation of his *Mehmān-nāma-ye Bok̲ārā* by Ursula Ott, Freiburg i. Br., 1974, p. 105).

[8]Concerning the circumstances of the capture and sacking of Ray, see J. A. Boyle in *The Cambridge History of Iran* (Cambridge, 1968), V, p. 310.

[9]Part of a Tradition that opens with the statement: "Each of you is a shepherd" (Bok̲ārī, Moslem, Abū Dā'ūd, Termeẕī, Ebn Ḥanbal).

[10]Qur'an, 9:42.

doms in order to repel this catastrophe—then one must fear that Islam will be totally destroyed, and that it will be overthrown in those few lands where it remains unvanquished.

> O kings of the world, hasten forth
> To save some remnant of the faith.
> Islam is lost, and you are unaware;
> Unbelief engulfs the earth, and you slumber on.

It is to be feared as a present danger that the name and trace of Islam that still survive will also vanish, thanks to our ill-omened and useless disputes, so that no sign of religion will remain, and it will withdraw behind the veil of dignity. "Islam began as a stranger, and again shall become a stranger as it began."[11] O God, awaken us from the sleep of the neglectful; O God, take us not to task for our evil deeds; give no dominion over us to those who are without compassion for us; "burden us not beyond what we have the strength to bear; pardon us, forgive us, and have mercy upon us; Thou art our Protector, so help us against the people of unbelief."[12]

When the ferocious conquests of those accursed and godforsaken ones began, this feeble one stayed patiently for almost a year in the lands of Iraq, and in the hope that the morning of salvation might dawn after the somber night of catastrophe and disaster and that the sun of good fortune might rise again, endured all kinds of severe hardship and tribulation. For I was loath to abandon my children and womenfolk, to part from my friends and dear ones and to leave house and home behind; and neither was it possible to bring forth from those lands all my dependents and following, nor did my heart permit me to expose them to destruction and perdition. Finally, when the catastrophe passed all bounds and the disaster exceeded all limits, when life itself was endangered and the knife cut through to the bone, it became necessary to declare that "necessity renders permissible the forbidden." Obeying the command of "O ye who believe, guard your own souls; he who is astray cannot

[11]A Tradition (Moslem, Termeẕī, Ebn Māja, Dāremī, Ebn Ḥanbal).

[12]The final phrases of this supplication, included within quotation marks, are taken from Qur'an, 2:286.

harm you, if ye are rightly guided,"[13] I was compelled to abandon all of my kith and kin; profiting from the adage that "he who has saved his head has truly profited," and conforming to the principle that "flight from the unendurable is a custom of the prophets,"[14] I had to depart and entrust my dear ones to calamity.[15]

When no disaster threatened, dearly did he cherish him;
  But when he saw disaster coming, he left him to his fate.
Know then that in times of trouble
  There is none who will stand by you, none!

One night in the year 618 (1221), this feeble one left his abode in Hamadān with a group of cherished darvishes, and confronting extreme peril set out on the road to Erbīl. Soon the news caught up with us that the accursed infidels—may God destroy and abase them!—had reached Hamadan and beleaguered it. The people of the city strove to defend it as best they could, but when their power to resist was exhausted, the infidels triumphed and captured the city. They martyred many men, took captive numerous women and children, and wrought utter destruction. Most of my kinsfolk who had been in the city of Ray were martyred.

Hail rained down upon my garden;
  Not a leaf remained on the rosebush.

"To God we belong, and to Him we shall return."[16]

Then we severed all hope of returning to our accustomed homeland and dwelling, and saw religious and worldly interest alike to dictate that we should settle in a land inhabited by the

[13]Qur'an, 5:104.

[14]Purportedly a Tradition; see Forūzānfār, *Aḥādīs̱-e Mas̱nāvī*, p. 191.

[15]Dāya's self-concern, ill-concealed by his invocation of Qur'an and Tradition, may have inspired these lines in the first chapter of Sa'dī's *Golestān:*

See that one devoid of honor
  Who will never see good fortune's face.
For he chose ease for himself
  And left wife and child in hardship.

(*Golestān*, ed. Moḥammad 'Alī Forūġī, Tehran, 1316 Š./1937, p. 30).

[16]Qur'an, 2:156.

People of the Sunna and the Community, and free of the blight of heresy, deviation, and fanaticism;[17] a land adorned with security and justice, where goods were cheap and the means of livelihood abundant, and a pious, learned, just, equitable, and discerning monarch ruled, who might appreciate the true value of men of religion and grant the accomplished their due.

Whenever we inquired after such a place among the perspicacious and experienced, who were well acquainted with the conditions of every land and clime, they replied unanimously as follows:

"In our time, the region answering this description and the land possessing this property is the country of Rūm, for it is both adorned with the persuasion of the People of the Sunna and the Community and embellished with justice and equity, security and prosperity. Praise be to God, the king of that realm is a perpetuator of the line of Saljuq, a living memory of that blessed dynasty to the shadow of whose blessed baldachin the people of Islam owe every instant of ease, peace, security and tranquillity they have ever enjoyed. The virtuous and pious works performed in the auspicious age of those God-fearing, religion-nurturing kings—may God illumine the proofs of their piety!—were never witnessed in any other age: raids and conquests in the lands of unbelief; the capture of citadels and castles from the heretics;[18] the building of colleges and hospices, mosques, small and great, and their pulpits, bridges, caravanserais, hospitals, and other pious foundations; the honoring and patronage of the scholars of religion; the cherishing and veneration of ascetics and devout men; the care and compassion shown to all the subjects of the king—these and other means of drawing nigh to the presence of God the Glorious had never before been seen. This truth is too well known and celebrated to need prolonged

[17]By "fanaticism" *(ta'aṣṣob)* Dāya doubtless intends rivalry and enmity between the adherents of the different Sunni *mażhabs;* his native city of Ray had witnessed prolonged disturbances between Ḥanafīs and Šāfe'īs in the last quarter of the sixth/twelfth century (Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī, *Mo'jam al-boldān,* Cairo, 1323/1906, II, 893).

[18]The heretics *(malāḥeda):* the Ismā'īlī sect known as the "Assassins," who had established strongholds at various points in northern and eastern Iran from which they mounted raids on cities of the Saljuq domain.

exposition, for throughout the lands of the Arabs and the Persians, in Turkestan, Fargāna, Transoxania, and Ḵārazm, in Khorasan, Ḡūr, Ḡarjestān and Ḡaznī, in India, Kabul and Zābol, in Sīstān and Kerman, in Ḵūzestān and the two Iraqs,[19] in Diyarbekir, Armenia and Syria, on the North African coast[20] and in Egypt, in Rūm and elsewhere, the monuments of their virtue and that of their vassals are manifest, and the tongues of the people of Islam resound with pious prayer and joyous encomium for that blessed dynasty. May God the Monarch Almighty make of their compassion, mercy, and tender care for their subjects a means for their advancing to high degree in the hereafter and for drawing nigh unto Him; and may He perpetuate the blessings of just rule and the cultivation of religion in their blessed house until the end of the world, by His grace and generosity."

When matters became thus clear to my feeble self, I realized that the means of obtaining tranquillity and peace and cultivating the life of the heart, of disseminating learning and summoning men unto God, and of serving in fit fashion men given to pious retreat, were to be found and had only in that land, in the refuge provided by the rule of that blessed dynasty to pray for whose welfare was a tradition I had inherited from my ancestors and forefathers, and to whose bounteous generosity I and all the people of Islam are indebted. Thus I considered it my duty to set out without delay for that blessed land; to settle in the sanctuary of that realm—may it enjoy daily increase and protection and immunity from the evil and cunning of the unbelievers; and to busy myself with prayer for the welfare of that victorious state—may God strengthen it! Auspicious fortune aided me, divine grace befriended me, and limping and stumbling I managed to reach the frontier of this blessed realm in the company of a few dear followers.

[19]"The two Iraqs": a now obsolete geographical expression designating Persian Iraq—north-central and western Iran—and Arab Iraq—lower Mesopotamia. See G. Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, Cambridge, 1930, pp. 25, 185.

[20]The word *sāḥel*, here translated as the North African coast, also means the Red Sea littoral or the East African coast, although such translations would be less plausible in this context.

By happy chance we were met in the city of Malatya by a hundred thousand species of auspicious favor and good fortune in the shape of the arrival of the shaikh of shaikhs, the foremost scholar of the world, the pole of the age, perpetuator of the line of shaikhs supreme, the shining meteor of the community and the faith, 'Omar al-Sohravardī, may God profit Islam and the Muslims by granting him long life, and may his blessed breath and visage never be far from us![21] We counted this as great good fortune and wondrous favor, and considered it an auspicious omen. When we were honored by being received into his presence, that great one waxed eloquent in gratitude for the aid, assistance, and generosity he had received from the monarch of Islam, the sultan of sultans, may God perpetuate his rule and elevate his dignity and repute! In the presence of both elect and commonalty, he described some part of the virtues and noble features of that one of pure lineage and sanctified spirit.

In the midst of his discourse, he turned to this feeble one and said:

> Since you have been compelled to leave behind your accustomed homeland and your well-loved dwelling place, and have been constrained to lose both time and tranquillity—'it may happen that ye will hate a thing which is better for you'[22]—settle in this blessed realm; tarry in the sanctuary of this kingdom; and apply the principle of 'when you find pasture, alight.' Although the world is not fitting to be a place of habitation, and treacherous life is of short duration, yet spend what remains of life in the refuge afforded by the auspiciousness of this monarch, who is young in fortune yet mature in wisdom, this sultan who nurtures religion as a true servant of God. 'If your choice be correct, then cleave to it.' Although it is the custom of the Sufis to seek seclusion, isolation, and solitude for the sake of God's fear, to avoid the company of kings and sultans and to abandon all

[21]Concerning the circumstances of al-Sohravardī's presence in Malaṭya, see the introduction to this translation.

[22]Qur'an, 2:216.

intercourse, nonetheless one may not shun completely this divinely supported king who has both a full share of learning and a generous amount of the fruits of ascetic combat, and who loves the possessors of learning and the people of the heart. Nor may one deprive oneself and the people of the benefits and advantages derived from attending on his presence.

He spoke for a while in this manner, and then sought in the Qur'an for a sign confirming the rightness of his proposal. Then, with his blessed hand, he penned a few words to the lieutenants of the king,[23] and turning to me, he said: "After drawing a sign from the Noble Qur'an and consultation with God the Glorious, I see the matter to be as I said."

This feeble one regarded the order of that great one as the order of God, and I was unable to disobey his command. Then, without delay, he stood up like the rising sun and departed like the wind, while my wretched self, with an eye full of tears and a heart full of fire, heavy laden like a cloud returning from the ocean shore, set out for the royal presence of lofty elevation. Doubly was I laden, with the pearls of wisdom I had gathered from that ocean, and with the sorrow of separation. But the messenger of felicity gladdened me with the tidings of a hundred thousand bounties, and the impending good fortune of attaining the royal presence mended all hurt and damage.

A voice then addressed my inmost heart, reminding me that those who enter the presence of kings and sultans must bear with them some gift reflecting their own state, although falling short of the lofty disposition of kings. Now I was indigent and without means, and that majesty was of truly exalted rank. Hence I replied: It has been said that—

The remedy for lovers is, I know, the forsaking of remedy,
But still in my lack of remedy I fret and tear out my soul.

However exalted is the monarch's rank, it cannot exceed that of

[23]Al-Sohravardī's letter of recommendation for Dāya is referred to in the *Avāmer al-'alā'īya* of Ebn Bībī.

Solomon, and however indigent I may be, I cannot be less than an ant. Let me then prepare for that king of Solomonic degree a gift befitting an ant, and offer excuse for my impotence with these two lines of verse:

> O King! to carry a hundred souls into thy presence as gifts
> Would be less even than taking caraway seeds to Kerman.[24]
> But thou knowest that it is the custom for ants
> To bear a locust's leg to Solomon's court.[25]

Then, however much I longingly sought a gift, sallying repeatedly forth into the battlefield of reflection, diving into the ocean of meditation, and inspecting both worldly possessions and provisions for the afterlife, I could find no clue of anything that might speak for me in that presence.

> I inspected my establishment from end to end
> And my foot did not stumble on so much as a potsherd.

When I had totally despaired, I addressed to all things the verse, "they are enemies unto me; not so the Lord of the Worlds,"[26] and in my impotence and confusion, with humility and abasement, I turned to the presence of Him Whose generosity is absolute and Who alone is deserving of worship. I took the basket of supplication in the hand of high endeavor and went forth to beg in accordance with daily habit. Forthwith His bounteous majesty, in accordance with His generous custom—"call upon me, and I shall answer you"[27]—opened the gates of His treasury of liberality, and showing me every kind of bounty proclaimed: "Take all thou desirest of these guarded and hidden treasures, and grieve thy heart no more." This feeble one re-

[24] "Taking caraway seeds to Kermān": a proverb having the sense of taking something as a gift to a place where it already abounds; cf. English "coals to Newcastle."

[25] The references to Solomon, the ant, and the locust's leg have the sense that Islam sees in Solomon a prophet-king whose rule extended over all animate creation. On the occasion of a review of his subjects, when every order of being offered some form of gift, the ant could find nothing to present to Solomon except the leg of a locust that had been severed in the crush.

[26] Qur'an, 26:77.

[27] Qur'an, 40:60.

plied: "O Lord! If I should take worldly bounties, it would be to no purpose, for the monarch already possesses such riches in boundless measure, and they are, moreover, of no consequence in the lofty view of that auspicious one. If I should take with me deeds performed in obedience to religion, again it would be to no end; for, God be praised, he has storehouse upon storehouse filled with such deeds, and the ship of his lofty intent is heavily laden with the cargo of worship and obedience. Should I take with me various of the sciences, they too would be of little benefit, for learning and the learned are plentiful in his presence, and he possesses hundredweight upon hundredweight, nay camel train upon camel train, of the different kinds of knowledge."

When God in His grace perceived the loftiness of my intent, He caressed me with thousandfold generosity and liberality and said: "O Ayāz to Our Maḥmūd![28] O devoted slave at the threshold of Our mastery! O lover illumined by the light of Our beauty! 'There are hidden gems of knowledge unknown to all but those who know God; if they are spoken of, none denies them except those arrogant toward God.'[29] There are unpierced jewels in Our treasury, never touched by the jeweler's file and hidden in virginal state behind the veil of the unseen—'whom neither man nor jinn hath touched.'[30] Take as gift a necklace of these precious jewels, a band of these virginal lustrous-eyed houris, and present them to that servant whom We have chosen, that monarch whom We have raised up; who in Our Potiphar-like presence is like Joseph raised to honor from the well, and who shows the patience of Job in the beneficial afflictions with which We try

[28]Ayāz: a trusted and devoted servant of Sultan Maḥmūd of Ḡazna (d. 421/1030), celebrated for valor, intelligence, and beauty. The relationship between Ayāz and his master was often celebrated in Persian poetry (notably by Ṣā'eb [d. 1087/1677] in his narrative poem *Maḥmūd o Ayāz*), and became one of the stock archetypes of love. The sense here is that Dāya is a beloved slave of the divine majesty; *maḥmūd*, in addition to being the name of Ayāz's master, also has the sense of "deserving of praise"; there is therefore a double entendre in the phrase *hażrat-e maḥmūdī-ye mā*.

[29]A Tradition related on the authority of Abū Horeyra by two early Sufis, al-Solamī (d. 421/1021) and al-Kalābāẕī (d. 390-1000). See Süleyman Ateş, *Sülemî ve Tasavvufî Tefsiri*, Istanbul, 1969, p. 17.

[30]Qur'an, 55:56.

him;[31] the shadow of the name of Our essence,[32] and the manifestation of the meaning of Our attributes; succorer of Our saints and vanquisher of Our enemies; the personification of loftiness in affairs both religious and temporal;[33] support of Islam and the Muslims; the pride and perpetuator of the house of Saljuq, Abu'l-Fatḥ Keyqobād b. Keyḵosrow b. Qelej Arslān, may God exalt his rule, make prosper his worldly and religious concerns, give victory to his armies and allies, and strengthen the proof and evidence of his piety! For no other commodity is so eagerly sought in the marketplace of conviction, and no other rare novelty fetches the same price in the shop of innermost truth!"

This bounty and inspiration were bestowed upon me in the city of Kayseri in the blessed month of Ramażān in the year 618 (1221), at the time when the gates of divine compassion were flung open, the universal feast of generosity lay ready, and the summons of "where are the needy and the supplicant?"[34] had been sounded. Seizing the advantage that the season afforded, I entrusted the reins of my pen to the hand of direction from the world of the unseen, so that whatever precious jewel arrived in the depths of my heart as a gift from that world might be drawn by the tongue of the pen on to the thread of expression, and placed on the tray of the written page. Then I might take it as a gift to the royal presence, saying the while, "O mighty prince, affliction has visited us and our people; we come with merchandise of scant worth."[35]

After renewed consultation of the Noble Qur'an and request-

[31]The implicit comparison of the Saljuq ruler, Keyqobād, to Joseph and Job is a delicate and skillful reference to the sufferings and misfortunes he endured at the hands of his brother, Keykā'ūs. Upon the death of his father, Keyḵosrow, in 607/1210, Keyqobād was imprisoned for a period of seven years, first in Malatya and then in Harput. In 616/1219, Keykā'ūs died, and he was released and brought to Konya as monarch. See "Keykubad I" by Osman Turan, *Islam Ansiklopedisi*, VI, 646-666.

[32]The name of God's Essence is Allāh; and there is a Tradition that "the sultan is the shadow of Allāh upon earth." The Tradition is recorded by Ebn Ḵozeyma, Ebn No'eym and al-Deylamī, but regarded as weak by al-Beyhaqī in his *Šo'ab al-īmān.*

[33]This phrase is a rendering of Keyqobād's title, 'Alā al-Donyā wa'l-dīn.

[34]A Tradition, recorded with a slightly different wording by Moslem and Ebn Ḥanbal.

[35]Qur'an, 12:88.

ing the aid of God Most Glorious, I adorned and embellished this bride from the unseen with the auspicious titles of that religion-nurturing monarch, that justice-dispensing sultan, whose baldachin is the sky, and whose banner, the stars, the pride and perpetuator of the line of Saljuq, may God multiply his glory and extend the shadow of his rule over east and west!

Abundant thanks to the Lord of the World
That I have entrusted a jewel to a knower of jewels.
He will know, looking upon it with the gaze of his soul,
The toil my soul endured, to nurture his soul.

Our hope of the uncaused grace and boundless generosity of God, the Monarch Exalted and Almighty, is that He will guard and protect our speech and our hand from error and fault, mistake and shortcoming; open to our heart and our tongue the door to the hidden treasures of the unseen; permit us to reach our aim by traveling the highway of following the Master of the First and the Last;[36] make our work a source of benefit in this world and intercession in the hereafter for ourselves and our readers; and render it acceptable to the hearts of men and pleasing to their gaze, if God the Glorious so wills. He is sufficient unto us, and upon Him is our reliance. "O Lord, make not our hearts to swerve after Thou hast guided us, and give us mercy from Thy presence, for truly Thou art the giver."[37]

[36] I.e., the Prophet.
[37] Qur'an, 3:8.

Third Chapter:
Treating of the Manner and Method in Which the Book is Written

God Almighty said: "He it is Who originates creation, and then causes it to return."[1] The Prophet, upon whom be peace and blessings, said: "People die in the state in which they lived, and shall be resurrected in the state in which they died."

Know that according to this verse and this Tradition, three states were established for man: the beginning of his creation, known as origin; the period of his worldly existence, known as life; and the obligatory severance by the spirit of its attachment to the body, or its voluntary separation from the attributes of the body, and this state we call return. The book, then, is based on these three: origin, life, and return, and God willing, a part containing several chapters will be devoted to each, so that some account may be given of the various states of man at each successive stage, within the confines of this brief treatise. Thus, in the part treating of origin, the beginning of the creation of spirits and bodily shapes, and of the realms of Kingship and Dominion,[2] will be described. In the part concerned with life, the training of man, his traveling and wayfaring through the stages of the human condition, the lights of spirituality, the transmuting of characteristics and the transforming of attributes, his different states as he proceeds along his journey, and the need for the means of spiritual training and progress—all these matters will be set forth. In the part devoted to return, the return of the souls of the felicitous and the wretched and the manner in which each group is brought back shall be expounded, all this in accordance with the method of the prophets and saints.

A section concerning the wayfaring of various classes of men will be added, so that all may derive profit and benefit from the book. Another part has been written by way of introduction, so that the book consists of five parts and forty chapters, as listed and described above. In choosing the number five, we wish to

[1]Qur'an, 30:27.
[2]Concerning Kingship and Dominion, see p. 70 no. 1.

partake of the blessedness and auspiciousness inherent in it, for it is the number of the pillars on which Islam is based: "Islam is built on five pillars: bearing witness that there is no god other than God and that Moḥammad is His Messenger; the regular performance of prayer; the payment of the purifying due; the fast in the month of Ramażān; and pilgrimage to God's house for those possessing the means." This is a sound Tradition, reported by 'Abdollāh the son of 'Omar, may God be pleased with both of them.[3] The number forty was chosen for the chapters in order to partake of the blessedness of the figure, which has a certain property with respect to the training of man. Thus God said: "And We appointed with Moses thirty nights, and We completed them with ten, so the appointed time of his Lord was forty nights."[4] Similarly, the Prophet, upon whom be peace, said: "Whoever worships God sincerely for forty days, the springs of wisdom shall well up from his heart to his tongue."[5] At the beginning of each chapter we have quoted a verse from the Qur'an and a Tradition of the Prophet, suitable to its contents, in order to hold fast thereby to the Book and the Sunna.

The description that we shall give of the origin and return of man, of his excellencies and deficiencies in the course of his training and his traveling through all states and stations, may serve as a touchstone against which aspirants to the Path and the Truth, the wayfarers and gnostics, can strike the coin of their state. If they find within themselves some sign and indication of the stations we describe, they will be fortified and may hope that their feet are planted on the highway of the Truth and that they are progressing along the straight path. If, on the other hand, they find no such indication, they will not be deceived by the wiles of Satan and the oglings of the soul; they will expel all arrogant fancies from their minds, and set their feet on the path of true search, refusing to be deceived by stale verbiage.

Chase out empty passion from thy head!
Lessen thy conceit, increase thy supplication!

[3]This important Tradition is found in Bok̲ārī, Moslem, Termez̲ī and Nasā'ī.
[4]Qur'an, 2:51.
[5]A Tradition recorded by Ebn No'eym, and Sa'īd b. Manṣūr in his *Sonan*.

Love is thy master, and when thou reachest the goal,
He, none other, will silently direct thy deeds.[6]

This book has been named, in accordance with its contents and purpose, THE PATH OF GOD'S BONDSMEN FROM ORIGIN TO RETURN, and is dedicated to Sultan Keyqobād, may God appoint him as one of His elect servants, cause him to tread the path of guidance, and destroy his enemies as He destroyed Samūd and 'Ād.[7]

When the devoted *morīd,* the enamored seeker, studies this work with sincerity and care, not out of fancy and frivolity, and comprehends the principles it contains, he will perceive who he is, whence, how, and for what purpose he has come; whither and how he shall go; and what his goal and destination are.

O soul! The heart of lovers everywhere is sorely troubled
By this stage which lies ahead for all.
The sword of fate has felled into the bowl of annihilation
The heads of countless wise and troubled souls.

It will become clear to him for what wise purpose the pure, exalted, and luminous spirit has been shrouded in its lowly, tenebrous frame of clay; to what end the spirit is then separated and severed from the frame; why the outward form decays; and for what reason the bodily frame is restored at resurrection to serve as garment for the spirit. Then he will leave the category of "they are like cattle; nay, more misguided";[8] attain a truly human degree; and be delivered from the veil of forgetfulness described in the verse, "They know but the outer part of the present life, and of the hereafter they are heedless."[9] With joyous yearning he will set his foot on the path of wayfaring, so that all his gaze perceives his foot will pursue, for the fruit of gazing is faith, and that of pursuing is gnosis.

[6] A quatrain by Aṣīr Akṣīkatī (d. 570/1174); see *Dīvān,* ed. Rokn al-Dīn Homāyūnfarrok, Tehran, 1337 Š./1958, p. 480.

[7] Samūd and 'Ād: two peoples destroyed by God for their impiety and rejection of His messengers (Qur'an, 26:123-159).

[8] Qur'an, 7:179.

[9] Qur'an, 30:7.

Philosophers, atheists, and materialists are deprived of both these stations, and hence wander in bewilderment. One of these pretended men of learning, who is known and celebrated among them for scholarship, wisdom and perspicuity, by name 'Omar Ḵayyām, in the extremity of his confusion while wandering in the wilderness of misguidance, finds himself constrained to say in one of his quatrains, thus confessing to his blindness:

In this circle of our coming and going
  Neither beginning nor end is visible.
None in the whole world can tell us truly
  Whence is our coming and whither our going.

And again:

Why did the Maker adorn the forms of creation
  And then cast them down to decay and decrease?
Should the forms be ugly, whose fault is it?
  And if pleasing they be, why cause their ruin?[10]

That blind wanderer—"it is not their sight that is blind, rather the hearts within their breast"[11]—is unaware that God Almighty has servants who through following the Master of the First and the Last have traversed the entirety of creation. They have passed beyond "the distance of two bowstrings," and arriving at

[10]This attack on Ḵayyām (d. 562/1131), author of the excessively renowned quatrains, repeated later in the work, is of interest as one of the earliest indications that Ḵayyām, the mathematician and philosopher, was also a poet (see Moḥammad 'Alī Forūḡī's preface to his edition of the *Robā'īyat* [Tehran, 1321 Š./1943], p. 16); and also as a decisive refutation of claims, ancient and modern, that Ḵayyām was in reality a Sufi. The great Sufi poet 'Aṭṭār (d.c. 617/1220) denounced Ḵayyām, in terms very similar to those used by Dāya, in his *Elāhīnāma* (ed. Hellmut Ritter, Istanbul, 1940, p. 272). In his study of Ḵayyām entitled *Damī bā Ḵayyām* (Tehran, 1345 Š./1966), the modern writer 'Alī Daštī takes note of Dāya's hostility to his hero, and in order to exact a kind of posthumous and imaginary vengeance mocks *Merṣād al-'ebād* as "a dark forest of hearsay, fable, and fantasy," and stages a fictitious debate before Keyqobād in which Dāya is decisively worsted (*Damī bā Ḵayyām*, pp. 265–286; English translation by L. P. Elwell-Sutton, *In Search of Omar Khayyam*, London, 1971, pp. 216–225).

[11]Qur'an, 22:46.

the station of "or closer" have lost their beings.[12] They have anointed the eye of vision with the collyrium of "his gaze swerved not nor strayed;"[13] and studying the verse "He beheld the supreme signs of his Lord,"[14] they partook of the manifold light of "God guides to His light whomsoever He wills."[15] Then, in that light, from the station of "he sees by Me,"[16] they witnessed the beginning of the world of Command, whence the spirits proceed, and saw how each object emerges from the obscurity of nonbeing onto the plain of being, and ever shall emerge until the end of the world. They comprehended the mystery inherent in the being of each, and looking out from the window of pre-eternity onto post-eternity, they perceived the end and destination of each class of being, and like a compass traced out the circle of pre-eternity and post-eternity. Repeatedly they passed from being to nonbeing, and from nonbeing back to being; first they were nonexistent beings, and then existent nonbeings; and at times neither existent nor nonexistent. Behind this veil many mysteries are concealed, perceptible only to those free of attachment, for such matters are not within the reach of every passion-polluted intellect. Most men think them mere absurdities, while each is one of the hidden mysteries of the world of the unseen, and only the gaze of the people of that world may alight upon them. As the proverb has it, "The language of the dumb is known only to their mothers."

When I joined in unison with the sorrow of thy love,
A hundred times or more to nonbeing I repaired.

[12]"The distance of two bowstrings or closer" (Qur'an, 53:9): the distance of the Prophet from the divine presence at the end of the Me'rāj, the ascension from Jerusalem to heaven that took place shortly before the Hejra. The expression has been taken by Sufis to mean the utmost proximity to God, with opposite attributes meeting in obedience to divine command (Sajjādī, *Farhang-e moṣṭalaḥāt-e 'orafā va motaṣavvefa*, p. 311). The Me'rāj was also taken by the Sufis as a model for the spiritual journey; the earliest example is furnished by Bāyazīd Bastāmī (d. 261/875); see his *Me'rājnāma* in Farīd al-Dīn 'Aṭṭār, *Taẕkerat al-owliyā*, ed. Mīrzā Moḥammad Ḵān Qazvīnī, Tehran, 1346 Š./1967, I, 160-164.

[13]Qur'an, 53:17.

[14]Qur'an, 53:18.

[15]Qur'an, 24:35.

[16]Part of a long *ḥadīṣ qodsī:* "My servant continually draws nigh unto Me through supererogatory works until I love him. And when I love him, I am to him an ear, an eye and a hand. He hears by Me, sees by Me and strikes by Me." See Forūzānfar, *Aḥādīṣ-e Maṣnavī*, pp. 18–19.

> Then far beyond nonbeing I passed and traveled on.
> A mystery I already was; now I am mystery
> consummate.[17]

Where are these lost and sightless ones? If there were left in them any desire to search for vision, the scales of egoism could soon be lifted from their truth-perceiving sight, with dominical[18] aid and the instrumentality of the Path, and on condition of submission. Then they would be delivered from the blindness described in the verse "Deaf, dumb, and blind, and they understand not,"[19] and instead constantly proclaim: "Were the veil to be lifted, my certainty would not increase."[20]

It was my aim that both elect and commonalty should be seated at the beneficial banquet of this book, and that none of the differing groups and classes of men should be without a share in the station of those drawn nigh unto God, or fail to taste the libations of His saints. All should attain this good fortune without abandoning their crafts and trades, their normal garb and clothing, thus causing affairs to be neglected and the essential needs of men to remain unfulfilled. In the fifth part of the book, the wayfaring of each class will therefore be described, for there is no group whose craft and trade cannot lead to either paradise or hell, or to the presence of God. All three paths lie open at the foot of everyone. The straight path is that road which leads to God; the road to paradise is on its right, and that to hell on its left. God said: "Ye shall be three bands: Companions of the Right—what are the Companions of the Right? Companions of the Left—what are the Companions of the Left? and the Foremost: the Foremost, those are they brought nigh unto God."[21]

[17]A quatrain by Dāya. The last line contains a pun: *rāzī,* here translated as "a mystery," might also be the adjective of place, Rāzī, thus constituting a signature to the poem.

[18]Dominical: this word and the corresponding substantive "dominicality" will be used throughout the book to render *rabbānī* and *robūbīyat* respectively. The adjective *rabbānī* refers to the divine attribute *rabb* ("Lord"), signifying the Creator as the solicitous and watchful sustainer of all being. *Robūbīyat* is the abstract noun designating that quality.

[19]Qur'an, 2:171.

[20]A saying variously attributed to 'Alī b. Abū Ṭāleb and 'Āmer b. 'Abd al-Qeys Tamīmī, an early ascetic. See Badī' al-Zamān Forūzānfar's notes to his edition of Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī's *Fīhe mā fīh* (Tehran, 1330 Š./1952), p 272.

[21]Qur'an, 56:7-9.

The shaikhs have said that "the paths to God are as numerous as the breaths of men." By breaths are intended the livelihoods, crafts, and trades of men, in the exercise of which they breathe. These paths may be compared to the roads that lead to the Ka'ba. From every place, point, and direction where men live throughout the world, a road goes forth toward the Ka'ba: "And from whatsoever place thou goest forth, set thy face toward the Sacred Mosque."[22] To depart and go forth is the first major condition for performing the hajj. Once it is fulfilled, one must set one's face to the Ka'ba, for although prayer may be valid if the direction of the Ka'ba cannot be established, hajj cannot be. The third condition is to traverse the distance separating oneself from the Ka'ba. When these three conditions have been fulfilled, it is possible to perform the hajj.

Similarly, each class in its trade and craft must first depart from the pleasures of the soul and all selfish interest. It must turn fully toward God in all things, and regard it as a duty to traverse the distance that being constitutes. Only thus may it hope to reach the Ka'ba of attainment: "Wheresoever ye turn, there is the face of God."[23]

> Keep not the company of thyself, thy companion is a brigand;
> Cut loose from self, for in selfhood lies calamity.
> Thou didst ask: "What is the distance from me to him?"
> O friend, thy self is the measure of that distance.

A description of the proper conduct of each class of men shall be set forth concisely at a suitable point, God willing. Obscure expressions, unfamiliar words, and phrases caused artificially to rhyme will be avoided, so that both neophyte and adept may profit from the work, and both elect and commonalty be satisfied. This, in accordance with the prayer, "O Lord, expand for me my breast; ease my task for me; unloose the knot upon my tongue that they may understand my words."[24]

And peace be upon Mohammad and his family.

[22] Qur'an, 2:149–150.
[23] Qur'an, 2:115.
[24] Qur'an, 20:25.

Second Part:

Concerning the Origin of Existent Beings, and Containing Five Chapters, in accordance with the Blessed Fivefold Nature of the Daily Prayer

First Chapter:
Expounding the Creation of Spirits and the Degrees of Knowledge Thereof

God Almighty said: "Indeed We created man in the fairest of shapes, then caused him to descend to the lowest of the low."[1]

The Prophet, upon whom be peace and blessings, said: "God created spirits four thousand years before He created bodies"—or, according to another version, "two thousand years." This Tradition explains the verse just quoted in the sense that God first created human spirits and then corporeal frames and fleshly bodies.[2]

Know that the origin of all creation and all beings consists of the spirits of men, and the origin of the spirits of men is the pure Mohammadan Spirit, may peace and blessings be upon its possessor.[3] Thus the Prophet said: "The first that God Almighty created was my spirit"—or, according to another version, "my light."[4] Since the Prophet, peace be upon him, was the choice essence of all beings and the fruit of the tree of creation—"were it not for thee, I would not have created the heavens"[5]—he was also of necessity the origin of all beings. For creation is like a tree, and the Prophet is the fruit of that tree, and the tree originates in truth from the seed contained within its fruit.

Thus, when God wished to create existent beings, He first

[1]Qur'an, 95:4–5.

[2]*Ajsām va ajsād:* the first word denotes bodies with respect to volume and dimension, and the second bodies with respect to fleshly composition.

[3]The Mohammadan Spirit (also known as the Supreme Spirit) is authoritatively defined by Šarīf Jorjānī (d. 816/1413) as follows: "The human spirit as a locus for manifestation of the divine essence with respect to its dominicality; none may wander near it, nor tarry. God alone knows its true ground. It is the First Intellect, the Mohammadan Reality, the Unitary Soul, the Reality of the Names. It is the first existent created by God in His form; it is the supreme viceregent, and the very substance of light" *(Ketāb al-ta'rīfāt,* Beirut, 1969, p. 118).

[4]Tradition reported on the authority of Ḥasan b. 'Alī; see Forūzānfar, *Aḥādīs̱-e Mas̱navī*, pp. 113–114.

[5]A *ḥadīs̱ qodsī;* see Forūzānfar, *Aḥādīs̱-e Mas̱navī*, p. 172.

brought forth the light of the Mohammadan Spirit from the effulgence of the light of the unity of His essence, in reference to which the Prophet said: "I am of God, and the believers are of me." According to certain traditions God Almighty looked upon the Mohammadan Light with the gaze of love, so that shame overcame it, and drops of sweat appeared from which He created the spirits of the prophets, upon whom be peace and blessings. Then, from the light of the spirits of the prophets, He created the spirits of the saints; from the light of the spirits of the saints, the spirits of the believers; from the spirits of the believers, those of the sinners; from those of the sinners, those of the hypocrites and the unbelievers. Then, from the light of the spirits of men, He created the spirits of the angels; from the spirits of the angels, those of the jinn; from those of the jinn, those of the devils, rebellious spirits,[6] and demons,[7] in accordance with the different degree and state of each. From the residue of their spirits He then created those of the different animals. Next, He brought into being the world of Dominion and all that pertains to it: animal souls, the vegetable and mineral realms, and compound and simple elements, as shall be set forth in the second and third chapters, God willing.

These degrees and stages of creation may be compared to the process whereby a sugar merchant extracts raw white sugar from the cane; boils it a first time and obtains white sugar candy; a second time, and obtains white sugar; a third time, and obtains brown sugar;[8] a fourth time, and obtains caramel; a fifth time, and obtains black cube sugar;[9] and finally a sixth time, after which only dregs will remain, exceedingly dark and black, these being known as treacle.

From the first stage of raw sugar to that of treacle, lucency and whiteness gradually decrease until only darkness and blackness remain. He who is unaware of the art of the sugar merchant will not know that he obtains these several and different prod-

[6]Rebellious spirits *(marada):* plural of *māred* (cf. Qur'an, 37:7) or *marīd* (cf. Qur'an 22:3, 4:117). The rebelliousness of this class of evil spirit is said to consist of its desire to learn surreptitiously the designs of God.

[7]Demons *(abālesa):* plural of Eblīs, the proper name of the devil.

[8]Literally, "red sugar" *(šekar-e sorḵ).*

[9]*Šekar-qavāleb-e siyāh.*

ucts from the same sugar; he will deny the fact and say that black treacle could never have emerged from the white, translucent sugar. He will not know that blackness and darkness were inherent in the particles of the sugar.

My friend and I both drank of the same wine;
His cheek turned red, mine turned yellow.

It is in truth necessary for the raw white sugar to contain darkness and blackness within the particles of its being, so that even in its original state it may have, by virtue of those attributes, some share of the properties that are inherent in darkness and blackness, a share proportionate to its needs. When it reaches the state of sugar candy, the sugar candy is thereby enabled to obtain its share; so too the white sugar, and all succeeding states and stages. Each takes a share of the whiteness and lightness, the darkness and blackness, inherent in the particles of the raw white sugar, one proportionate to its capacity, and leaves the rest. Finally, in the treacle, only a small amount of whiteness and lightness remains, and all else is darkness and blackness, just as in white sugar candy there had been only a small amount of darkness and blackness, and all else was whiteness and lucency. In the same way that the visual sense cannot perceive darkness and blackness in the sugar candy even though they are present, so too it cannot perceive whiteness and lucency in the treacle, even though they are present.

This difference of degree in light and darkness, whiteness and blackness, in each of these types of sugar is necessary, for each type possesses a certain perfection on its own plane, and there is inherent in each a certain property deriving from the difference of degree and not found in the other types. Where one in particular is to be employed, another may not be used. Thus, when sugar candy is thought to be useful, the physician will not prescribe white sugar; nor will he prescribe sugar candy when white sugar is called for. None may take the place of another, and it is therefore clear that each on its own plane has a perfection lacking in all others. Thus God says: "He Who has made good all that He created."[10]

[10]Qur'an, 32:7.

Know that in this similitude the raw sugar represents the pure Mohammadan Spirit, which is in truth the Adam of Spirits; in the same way that Adam, upon whom be peace, is the father of man, so too the Prophet Moḥammad is the father of spirits. This is the meaning of his saying: "We are the first and the last."[11] That is, "although our form was the last in that it followed on other forms, our spirit was first because it preceded all other spirits." The spirits of the prophets, upon whom be peace and blessings, emerged from the Mohammadan Spirit, like the sugar candy from raw sugar. The spirits of the saints were then extracted from those of the prophets, like white sugar from sugar candy; those of the believers from those of the saints, like brown sugar from white sugar; those of the sinners from those of the believers, like caramel from brown sugar; and those of the unbelievers from those of the sinners, like black cube sugar from caramel. In the same way the spirits of angels, jinns, and demons were then extracted until there remained only a residue corresponding to treacle. From that which was subtle and clear in this residue the animal and vegetable spirits were fashioned, and from that which was dense and dark the compound and simple elements were formed.

There occurs to us now an extremely subtle truth deriving from the unseen world, which probably none has hitherto expressed, namely, that the darkness and blackness inherent in the raw sugar serve as vehicles, respectively, for heat and density. Therefore wherever darkness and blackness are found in greater quantity, in the different kinds of sugar candy, white sugar, caramel, black cube sugar, and treacle, there too heat and density will be greater. Thus white sugar is one degree hotter and denser than sugar candy, and similar differences separate the rest from one another.

Now heat is an attribute of fire, and fire is the substance of love; density is an attribute of earth, and earth is the substance of lowliness and abasement. Rebellious pride and striving for loftiness and elevation are the properties of fire. Hence Satan rebelled in pride and said: "I am better than him."[12] For he indeed

[11]Tradition recorded by Boḵārī, Moslem, Nasā'ī, and Dāremī.

[12]Qur'an, 7:12. The words of protest uttered by Satan when commanded to prostrate himself before Adam.

was of fire, while the properties of earth are vileness and abjection. Hence the animals whose origin is earth are of abject disposition and lowly aspiration, seeking out only perishable and earthly sustenance. All oppressiveness *(ẓolm)* arises from the attributes of fire, and all ignorance *(jahl)* arises from the attributes of earth. When both reach their limit, there come into being extreme oppressiveness *(zalūmī)* and extreme ignorance *(jahūlī),* these words being emphatic in form.[13]

These two attributes of darkness and blackness, even though inherent in the raw sugar, were not evident in it, nor in the sugar candy and the white sugar; they became fully manifest only in the treacle, a residue remaining from the sugar, in which there was but little lucency and whiteness. Conversely, lucency and whiteness were evident in their plenitude in the sugar candy, in which there was but little darkness and blackness.

Similarly, heat, the substance of love, was present in small quantity in the sugar candy of luminous spirits, and likewise density, the leavening for humility and servitude. But since these two attributes had not attained perfection in luminous spirits, they were unable to carry the burden of the Trust of Knowledge. Conversely, in the treacle represented by the water and clay of animal form, clarity, luminosity, and spirituality were present in small quantity, but since they had not attained perfection, the animals too were incapable of bearing the burden of the Trust of Knowledge.

Therefore a combination was needed of the two worlds, spiritual and corporeal, a combination that should possess in perfect degree the means of love and servitude and of knowledge and cognition. It would thereby be enabled manfully and ardently to bear the burden of the Trust on the shoulders of its soul. This bearing of the burden is none other than the twofold fealty of man[14] mentioned by God Almighty: "We offered the Trust to the heavens, and the earth, and the mountains; but they

[13]*Ẓalūmī* and *jahūlī:* each word is formed of an Arabic particle on the emphatic paradigm of *fa'ūl* and the Persian abstract noun ending -ī. *Ẓalūm* and *jahūl* are drawn from Qur'an, 33:72, where they refer to the qualities of man that have caused him to accept the burden of the Trust.

[14]Twofold fealty *(velāyat-e dorang):* that is, a fealty to be exercised in both the material and spiritual domains.

refused to bear it, being afraid thereof, and man accepted to bear it—he is indeed extremely oppressive and ignorant."[15] Extreme oppressiveness and ignorance are necessary attributes of the human state, since the burden of the Trust cannot be borne except with the strength of extreme oppressiveness and ignorance, even though it may be perceived with spiritual light and clarity alone.[16] The angels saw the Trust with their spiritual light and clarity, but being without the strength of corporeal attributes, they were unable to lift up its burden. The animals had the strength and capacity of corporeal attributes, but being without the spiritual light and clarity needed to perceive the honor of bearing the burden, they did not accept it. Since man was the combination of the two worlds, spiritual and corporeal, he was ennobled with the task of bearing the burden. This is the inner meaning of God's saying: "Truly We have ennobled the sons of Adam."[17]

As for the knowledge of the essence of the spirit, earlier writers have accomplished little more than a preliminary description. Nonetheless, let some account be offered here. Again a comparison with sugar is appropriate: Know that just as there are seven attributes inherent in sugar—whiteness, blackness, lucency, darkness, subtlety, density, and sweetness—so too there are seven attributes inherent in the spirit, which is a subtle essence proceeding from God's dominicality and peculiarly honored by the possessive adjective "My" in the Qur'anic phrase "of My spirit."[18] These attributes of the spirit are luminosity, love, knowledge, forbearance, familiarity,[19] permanence,[20] and life.

[15]Qur'an, 33:72.

[16]*Ẓalūmī* (extreme oppressiveness) is derived from the triliteral root *ẒLM* which has the sense of darkness as well as that of sin, transgression, and cruelty. This sense is contained within *ẓalūmī,* man being dark in that he is fashioned of clay, and his darkness being providentially necessary for his bearing the burden of the Trust.

[17]Qur'an, 17:70.

[18]Qur'an, 15:29. The verse reads in full: "When I have shaped him [Adam] and breathed in him of my spirit, fall ye down in prostration," this command being addressed to the angels. Man is "peculiarly honored" in that it was only he who was thus directly created and given the breath of life by God. See below, p. 110.

[19]Familiarity *(ons):* primordial familiarity with the Creator. The word *ensān* (man as theomorphic being) is sometimes related etymologically to the root of *ons*. See below, p. 124.

[20]Permanence *(baqā):* permanence or "abiding" in God after the effacement of separative consciousness.

Further attributes arise from each of these: hearing, vision, and speech from luminosity; yearning, seeking, and sincerity[21] from love; will and cognition from knowledge; dignity, modesty, endurance, and tranquillity from forbearance; pity and compassion from familiarity; steadfastness and persistence from permanence; and intelligence, understanding, and other modes of perception from life. Other attributes are also derived from them, both before and after the attachment of the spirit to the bodily frame, a description of all of which would result in prolixity.

All originate in the seven principal attributes of the spirit, each of which corresponds to one of the attributes of sugar. Thus, luminosity corresponds to whiteness and love to blackness, as has already been explained; knowledge to lucency; forbearance to darkness; familiarity to subtlety; permanence to density; and life to sweetness. The attribute corresponding to that the trace of which is least evident in the sugar will also be least evident in the spirit.

Thus, if it is desired that such an attribute reach the fullness of manifestation, one must take it, as it were, to a mine[22] where it is present in perfection. For example, if one wishes the attribute of blackness, which is slight in sugar candy, to attain perfection, the sugar candy must be mixed with treacle, which may be considered as a mine of blackness. Then the sugar candy too will become black to the same degree as the treacle. Similarly, when it was desired to perfect the attribute of love in the spirit, which corresponds to blackness in the sugar candy, the spirit was attached to the bodily frame, which is a mine of blackness, so that the quality of love might there be nurtured to perfection. This is one of the mysteries of the attachment of the spirit to the bodily frame. Since the angels lacked this attachment to the corporeal and tenebral frame, their seed of love was never nurtured to perfection, that it might bear the fruit of "He shall love them and they shall love Him."[23]

[21]Sincerity *(ṣedq):* the congruence of outward action with inward state (Jorjānī, *Ketāb al-ta'rīfāt,* p. 137).

[22]"Mine" appears to mean here the unalloyed source of an attribute, where nothing other than itself is visibly present.

[23]Qur'an, 5:57.

It is possible that someone might now pose the following question: "You have said that blackness, darkness, and density were inherent in the sugar that is the light of the spirit of Moḥammad, upon whom be peace and blessings. You have also explained that the spirits of men need these attributes so that each may serve in its proper place as a means for the knowledge of God. Furthermore, you have said that the Mohammadan Spirit emerged from the effulgence of the light of the unity of the Essence. Can it then be said that these attributes are inherent in the light of the unity? If you reply affirmatively, then it is established that need exists within the unity. If your reply is negative, then whence came to the pure Mohammadan Spirit that which was not present in the light of the unity?"

The answer is threefold. First, although the sugar of the pure Mohammadan Spirit emerged from the sugarcane of the effulgence of the light of the unity, it nonetheless bore the imprint of createdness, which is an attribute absent from the light of the unity. All that is created is without exception subject to the darkness of the created state, for light as such is an attribute exclusively of divinity—"God is the light of the heavens and the earth"[24]—while darkness as such is an attribute exclusively of the created state. Thus the Prophet, upon whom be peace, said: "God fashioned creation in its darkness."[25] It is therefore fitting that blackness, darkness, and density should be among the attributes of the created state and the properties of createdness.

Second, the Essence in Its unity, may It be glorified and exalted, possesses the attributes of favor and wrath, and it may be said that all the luminosity and clarity present in spirits derives from the effulgence of the attribute of favor, and all blackness and darkness from the effulgence of the attribute of wrath.

Third, we compared darkness in the sugar with the attribute of the fire of love in the spirit, and there can be no doubt that the seed of love was sown in the disposition of the spirit before all other attributes.

[24]Qur'an, 24:35.
[25]First part of a tradition recorded by Ebn Ḥanbal, Beyhaqī, and Ṭabarānī. It is cited in its entirety on p. 326.

We imbibed the wine of love for Thee, together with milk;
We were reared on love for Thee in infancy.
Nay, 'tis falsely I speak; how might it be thus?
For we were nurtured together with love for Thee
in pre-eternity.

It is certain that love is the foremost among all the attributes of the spirit, since the love it possesses is derived from the honor of "He shall love them."[26] If "He shall love them" did not precede "they shall love Him,"[27] none would have the temerity to boast of love. The rope of love was unwound by the expansion[28] of "He shall love them."

Thou has made me daring with Thy lip.
For else, how might my wretched self be meet for Thee?

"He shall love them" is thus an attribute of uncreatedness, and "they shall love Him" likewise savors of the uncreated state. What other attribute of the spirit could then vie with love, for it alone is linked to uncreatedness?

In this there are many mysteries which books are incapable of expounding: "And the harvests that ye reap, ye shall leave them in the ear, except a little, whereof ye shall eat."[29] All the exalted host of cherubim and spirit beings could not speak of love, for they were unable to bear its burden. Love and suffering were born in the same household, while love and joy are strangers to each other.

Shaikh 'Abdollāh Anṣārī,[30] may God's mercy be upon him,

[26]Qur'an, 5:57.

[27]That is, both in the order of things and in the Qur'anic verse to which reference is made.

[28]Expansion *(enbesāṭ* or *basṭ):* God's manifestation of Himself through the workings of His attributes, as contrasted with contraction *(enqebāż* or *qabż),* the nonmanifest state of the essence in its immutable transcendence.

[29]Qur'an, 12:47. Words spoken by Joseph in interpreting the dreams of the king of Egypt.

[30]Shaikh 'Abdollāh Anṣārī (d. 481/1088), an early and renowned writer on Sufism in both Arabic and Persian, whose shrine at Gāzorgāh outside Herat is still a place of visitation. Particularly celebrated are his *Manāzel al-sā'erīn,* a depiction of the stages on the Path, and his *Monājāt,* supplications composed in a mixture of rhymed prose and verse. The passage quoted here appears to have been taken from Anṣārī's *Elāhīnāma,* although its wording diverges somewhat from that of the original (see *Rasā'el-e Ḵāja 'Abdollāh Anṣārī,* ed. Vaḥīd Dastgerdī, 3rd ed., Tehran 1349 Š./1970, p. 171).

said: "Love knocked at the door, and suffering answered: 'I am a slave to him who scorned his own being.'" Wretched is the son of Adam who, in his extreme oppressiveness and ignorance, took upon himself the burden that the inhabitants of both worlds shunned, and thus elected suffering eternal and forfeited the joy of this world and the next! My feeble self has composed these verses:

Love it is that steals youth's pleasure;
  Love too that steals eternal joy.
Though love for the heart is the Water of Life,
  From the heart it steals the Water of Life!

Second Chapter:
Describing the World of Dominion/Malakūt[1] *and the Degrees of All That It Contains*

God Almighty said: "So glory be to Him, in Whose hand is the Dominion/*malakūt* of all things, and unto Whom ye shall be returned."[2]

The Prophet, upon whom be peace, said: "The first that God created was the intelligence."

Know that as the origin of the world of spirits was the pure Mohammadan Spirit, as explained in the previous chapter, so too the origin of the world of Dominion was the Universal Intelli-

[1]The world of Dominion *('ālam-e malakūt)* (cf. Qur'an, 6:75, 7:175, 23:88, 36:83): one of the multiple realms of creation, generally coupled in a contrasting pair with *'ālam-e molk* (numerous Qur'anic references, but see especially 57:2, 67:1, 85:9, 43:85, 45:27), the world of Kingship, that is, the material or phenomenal world. *Malakūt* is sometimes translated as the "angelic realm," but this is misleading, since the derivation of *malakūt,* like that of *molk,* is from *malek,* "king," not from *malak,* "angel." Moreover, while the angelic beings belong to *malakūt,* it is a realm which also embraces the immutable spiritual verities *(ḥaqā'eq)* and the heavenly entities (the Pen, the Preserved Tablet, the Balance, and the Throne). *Malakūt* is frequently identified with *'ālam al-ğeyb,* the hidden or suprasensible world (as contrasted with *'ālam aš-šehāda,* the manifest or sensible world); with *'ālam al-amr,* the world of Command, that is, supraformal manifestation (see n. 7 below); and with *'ālam al-meṣāl,* the world of archetypal images. It may then be said to contain within itself all these significances. See the extract from Dāya's commentary on Qur'an, 6:75, quoted by Esmā'īl Ḥaqqī (d. 1137/1725) in his *Rūḥ al-bayān* (new ed., Istanbul, 1389/1970), III, p. 56; and Sajjādī, *Farhang-e moṣṭalaḥāt-e 'orafā va motaṣavvefa,* p. 387.

A great contemporary of Dāya who may have exercised some influence upon him, Shaikh Moḥyī al-Dīn b. 'Arabī (d. 638/1240), established a schema of Five Divine Presences *(al-ḥażarāt al-elāheyat al-ḵams),* in which *malakūt* occupies the fourth rank, coming immediately before *nāsūt,* the corporeal world of formal manifestation. See A. E. Affifi, *The Mystical Philosophy of Muhyid Din Ibnul Arabi* (Lahore, 1964), pp. 13ff.

In the present work, Dāya uses the word *malakūt* in a dual sense: to indicate the inward aspect of created beings, the souls by means of which they subsist, and also to designate the realm of suprasensible being that contains all those inward aspects. Both senses can indeed be deduced from the Qur'anic occurrences of the word. Since it is impossible to render both senses with a single English equivalent, the word will be retained in the original for the first sense, and translated as "Dominion" for the second.

[2]Qur'an, 36:82.

gence. Dominion is the inward aspect of the world,[3] while its outward aspect is Kingship. In truth the *malakūt*, or inner aspect, of everything is its soul, that whereby it subsists, and all souls in turn subsist by virtue of the divine attribute of sustaining and self-subsistent.[4] Thus He says: "in Whose hand is the Dominion/*malakūt* of all things." Nothing subsists of and by itself except the pure Essence of God, may His glory be exalted. The *malakūt* of everything is in conformity with its nature, as He has said: "Have they not looked upon the Dominion/*malakūt* of the heavens and the earth?"[5] The *malakūt* of the heavens is suited to the heavens, and that of the earth, to it.

Although the inward aspects of things that make up the world of Dominion are of many kinds, they all belong to two categories. One pertains to the world of the spirits, both the higher spirits such as those of men and angels, and the lower spirits such as those of the jinn, demons, and animals, and the vegetable spirit. The origin and source of this category is the Mohammadan Spirit—may peace and blessings be upon its possessor—as was previously explained.

The other category pertains to the world of the souls,[6] and it too embraces both higher and lower. The higher includes the heavenly souls, such as those of the stars, spheres, and divisions of the zodiac, while the lower comprises the souls of terrestrial bodies. These latter consist, in turn, of simple and compound bodies. Simple bodies are the four elements, the natures and properties of which constitute their *malakūt*. Thus the nature of water is wetness and coldness, and its property is the quenching of thirst; the nature of fire is dryness and heat, and its property burning; the nature of earth is dryness and coldness, and its property the causation of growth; and the nature of wind is wetness and heat, and its property the bestowal of ease.

[3]*Jahān:* the world in the sense of the planet earth, as opposed to *'ālam*, meaning world in the sense of sphere, plane, or realm of being.

[4]*Qayyūmī:* a noun formation from *qayyūm* (see Qur'an, 2:255, 3:2, 20:111). This attribute is always coupled with that of *ḥayy*, "living"; the two are sometimes thought to form a single attribute. See al-Ğazālī, *al-maqṣad al-asnā*, ed. F. A. Shehadi (Beirut, 1971), pp. 142–143.

[5]Qur'an, 7:184.

[6]"Souls" *(nofūs)* designates in this context the inner natures of sentient beings, that by means of which they subsist.

Compound bodies are of two kinds, solids and plants. The *malakūt* of solids, such as stones, also consists of their natures and properties. The *malakūt* of plants, however, is constituted by the vegetable soul as well as by their natures and properties. The origin of this category is the world of the intelligence. If the various kinds of *malakūt,* both spirit and soul, are found united in the vegetable realm, it is because the *malakūt* of plants is called both the vegetable spirit and the vegetable soul. The vegetable realm is intermediate between the animal and the mineral realms. It contains growth, an animal property found in beings endowed with spirit and not in minerals, and its *malakūt* is therefore called the vegetable spirit. At the same time, the vegetable realm partakes of the properties of the mineral in that it lacks sense perception. It is therefore reckoned among the beings endowed with soul, and its *malakūt* is thus also called the vegetable soul.

In every type of *malakūt,* spirit or soul, higher or lower, an attribute of other species of *malakūt* is to be found. Thus attributes of the *malakūt* of the soul are to be found in that of the spirit, and those of the *malakūt* of the spirit in that of the soul. In each type, however, the attributes of one *malakūt* will predominate, and the type will be known by virtue of these dominant attributes. A detailed description of this would lead to prolixity.

Now all of creation is divided into two categories: Kingship and Dominion, which are also called Creation and Command.[7] God Almighty has mentioned both together in this verse: "Surely your Lord is God, Who created the heavens and the earth in six days—then rested upon the throne,[8] covering the day with the night it pursues urgently—and the sun, and the moon, and the stars, subjugated to His command. Verily His are the creation and the command. Blessed be God, the Lord of the Worlds."[9]

The world of Command consists of the antithesis of bodies, for it is not subject to measurement, division, or decomposition.

[7]Creation *(k̲alq)* and command *(amr):* both these terms, like *molk* and *malakūt* to which they respectively correspond, are of Qur'anic derivation.
[8]Concerning the meaning of the Throne, see n. 25 on p. 84.
[9]Qur'an, 7:54.

Further, it came into being directly upon the command of "be."[10]

The world of Creation, by contrast, consists of bodies, subtle and opaque, that are susceptible to measurement and decomposition. Although it too was created by the command of "be," its creation was through the employment of means and extended over a period of days: "Who created the heavens and the earth in six days."

The world of Command includes both the *malakūt* of spirits and that of souls, for God said: "They will ask thee concerning the spirit; say, 'the spirit is from my Lord's command.'"[11] He made mention too of "the sun, and the moon, and the stars, subjugated to His command." The human spirit, however, has been uniquely honored through the possessive adjective in the phrase "of My spirit."[12] Hence the nobility of man: "Truly we have ennobled the sons of Adam, and carried them forth on dry land and sea."[13] You have doubtless heard the outer meaning of this verse, but listen now to its inner meaning, for the Qur'an has an outer and an inner aspect: "The Qur'an has an exterior and an interior."[14] God says in this verse:

> We have lifted up the son of Adam, and carried him by Our grace across dry land and sea. The dry land is the world of bodies, or Kingship, and the sea is the world of Dominion. Land and sea cannot lift up man, for he bears the burden of Our Trust, that burden which land and sea could not bear: "They refused to bear it, being afraid thereof."[15] When man took up the burden, how then might land and sea have borne both him and the burden together? Since he is carrying Our burden, despite all his impotence and weak-

[10]"Be" *(kon):* the creative fiat: "His Command, when He desires aught, is to say to it, 'be,' and it is" (Qur'an, 36:82).

[11]Qur'an, 17:85. That is, the spirit belongs to the world of Command or Dominion.

[12]See p. 65, n. 18.

[13]Qur'an, 17:70.

[14]A Tradition quoted by Abū Ṭāleb al-Makkī (d. 386/996), with a somewhat fuller wording and on the authority of 'Abdollāh b. Mas'ūd, in *Qūt al-qolūb* (Cairo, 1381/1961), I, 284.

[15]Qur'an, 33:72.

ness, it is more fitting that We should carry him, with Our power and strength and generosity. We are both lover and beloved; that which passes between Us and man passes not between Us and other than man, nor between man and other than Us.

If the heart surges up in desire for a gypsy,[16]
Offer it a hundred Turks[17] and it will pay no heed.

None may intervene between Lover and Beloved, for none but the Lover can bear the burden of the belovedness of the Beloved, and none but the Beloved the burden of the loverhood of the Lover. The Lover cannot dispense with the Beloved, nor the Beloved with the Lover. Yet the desire of the Beloved for the Lover precedes that of the Lover for the Beloved, for it is the charms and enticements of the Beloved that arouse the Lover. The Lover had no desire for the Beloved before his own existence, whereas the Beloved desired the Lover even before the Lover came into being. Thus Ḵaraqānī[18] says: "He desired Himself when He desired us."

Thou, the pre-eternal candle; my heart, the moth
bemused by Thee.
For the world, Thou art its soul; for me, my beloved.

[16]Lūlī, here translated as "gypsy," is a word of imprecise reference, which in addition to being synonymous with *Lūrī* (Lūr tribesman), may also mean gypsy, vagabond, and, in poetry, a shameless and coquettish beloved. See Moḥammad Ḥoseyn b. Ḵalaf Tabrīzī, *Borhān-e Qāṭe'*, ed. Moḥammad Mo'īn (Tehran, 1333 Š./1954), III, 1916.

[17]The Turk is a common image in Persian poetry for the desirable yet wayward object of love.

[18]Abul-Ḥasan Ḵaraqānī (d. 425/1034): an unlettered Sufi of great distinction, regarded as a *morīd* of Bāyazīd Basṭāmī by way of posthumous initiation. A number of his sayings have been preserved in 'Aṭṭār's *Tazkerat al-owliyā*, II, pp. 169-213; and another collection of his utterances under the title *Nūr al-'olūm* has been published with an introduction and translation in Russian by Ye. E. Bertel's in *Izbrannye Trudy: Sufizm i Sufiyskaya Literature* (Moscow, 1965), pp. 225-278. Dāya's interest in Ḵaraqānī is attested by his brief Arabic commentary on this mystic's celebrated utterance: "the Sufi is uncreate." See introduction, p. 16.

From the tumult of the tip of Thy twisting tress,
Madness struck my maddened heart.[19]

Even though in reality there is neither strangeness nor duality between Lover and Beloved,

There is no strangeness between us; Thou art us, and we are Thee.
Thou art the top of the garment, and we are its hem—

for the warp of the garment of love is "He shall love them" and its woof, "they shall love Him";[20] moreover, the thread of this alluring discourse was unwound by "I desired to be known"[21]—nonetheless our lips are compelled to silence on this point. The vehemence and vigor of Moses were needed to say: "Truly this is none other than Thy trial."[22] Even he was chastised with the blow of "thou shalt not see Me,"[23] and when the angels on Mount Sinai impudently taunted him by saying, "O son of menstruating women, what does dust seek of the Lord Supreme?" he drew in his tongue and fell silent. He did not answer them saying: "Ye ask me, 'what does dust seek of the Lord Supreme?' Why ask ye not Him, 'What does the Lord Supreme seek of dust?' We were content with our station of dust, and at first desired pardon of God. We threw the ragged cloak of inauspicious remoteness from Him over the shoulder of safety, and in the corner of tranquillity drew the skirt of submission over the foot of intent. We recited

[19]The symbolism of the candle and the moth in these verses is clear. As for the twisting tress, it refers to the manifestation of the divine attributes, and the tip of the tress signifies the lowest degree of manifestation, the material or phenomenal plane. The tress is "twisting" or "chainlike" in that the phenomenal plane of manifestation is subject to constant variation and change, and in that it is a means for "capturing" man and directing his attention to the attributes (Sajjādī, *Farhang-e moṣṭalaḥāt-e 'orafā va motaṣavvefa*, pp. 206–209; anonymous, *Mer'āt-e 'oṣṣāq*, text published by Bertel's in *Izbrannye Trudy: Sufizm i Sufiyskaya Literatura*, p. 153).

[20]Qur'an, 5:57.

[21]Part of the *ḥadīṣ qodsī* quoted on p. 147.

[22]Qur'an, 7:155. Words spoken by Moses when interceding with God on behalf of the Israelites after their worship of the golden calf.

[23]Qur'an, 7:143. The reply given to the plea of Moses: "O my Lord, show Thyself to me that I may look upon Thee."

the saying 'true resoluteness is caution,'[24] and were conscious that the proximity of kings, although yielding numerous benefits, gives rise to limitless misfortune:

> The sultan in his greatness is naught but a sea;
> And nearness to the sea is fraught with peril.[25]

We feared lest our capital be lost, and gain be unattained, and considered that the downfall of dust was to be found in water—'O would that I were dust.'[26] Yet He, with His uncaused grace and without our will, brought us forth from the corner of ill-fortuned obscurity, set us apart through the honor of being kneaded 'by My hand,'[27] and cast over the head of our being the robe of honor of inhalation 'of My spirit.'[28] He seated us on the throne of His viceregency—'He it is Who has made you His viceregents on earth';[29] and placed on our heads the crown of 'He shall love them';[30] and commanded all the sublime host to prostrate themselves before our throne, addressing us before the worlds of Kingship and Dominion as 'those We have chosen from among Our bondsmen.'[31] If we were to recount all the instances of our belovedness of God, who would have the strength to hear? Does aught, in the manifest or hidden world, from one horizon to the other, have the treasure that is in the court of our pride?"

> Such coquetry must I bear for Thy love's sake,
> That it would be an error to say Thou lovest me.

[24]Supposedly a Tradition (see Forūzānfar, *Aḥādīs̱-e Mas̱navī*, p. 74), but according to al-Maydānī's *Majmā' al-ams̱āl* (Cairo, 1379/1959) p. 175, a saying of one Aks̱am b. Ṣeyfī.

[25]An Arabic verse by Sāḥeb b. 'Abbād (d. 385/995). See al-T̲a'ālebī, *Yatīmat al-dahr* (Cairo, 1376/1958), II, p. 107.

[26]Qur'an, 78:40. "The unbeliever shall say (on the Day of Judgment), 'would that I were dust!'"

[27]A reference to the *ḥadīs̱ qodsī:* "I kneaded the clay of Adam with My hand for forty days." (Forūzānfar, *Aḥādīs̱-e Mas̱navī*, pp. 197–198).

[28]Qur'an, 15:29.

[29]Qur'an, 6:165.

[30]Qur'an, 5:57.

[31]Qur'an, 35:32: "Then We caused to inherit the Book those We have chosen from among Our bondsmen."

Let union with Thee pitch tent on my head,
Or let me lose my head for the sake of the error![32]

Let us return to our discussion of the verse, "and carried them forth on dry land and sea." Dry land is the world of Kingship; sea, that of Dominion. In the same way that wherever land is to be found it is on the face of the seas, so too the world of Kingship floats upon that of Dominion. The verse means, then, "We carried man over the worlds of Kingship and Dominion," in the sense that "We created both of these from the effulgence of the light of his spirit and intelligence." Thus all that is endowed with spirit—angels, jinn, demons, and animals—draws its life from the effulgence of the light of his spirit; and all that is endowed with soul—the stars, the spheres, the firmament, the earth, the elements, the minerals and plants—derives its substance from the workings of his intelligence.

The relationship of the intelligence to the spirit is like that of Eve to Adam, who was taken from his left rib. A subtle truth is implied by this comparison. Since women proceeded from the left of Adam, the Prophet, upon whom be peace and blessings, said: "Consult them and oppose them."[33] That is, "consult them concerning your affairs and then do the opposite of whatever they say, for such will be the proper course." Women are taken from the left rib and are therefore crooked, and the straight and true opinion will be the opposite of that which they hold.

Now the intelligence also proceeds from the left of the spirit. One should consult it concerning the knowledge of the essence and attributes of the Creator, may His glory be exalted. Whatever its perception may attain and its understanding comprehend of the essence and attributes of the Creator, know that God Almighty is exalted above it and free of its taint. He is not

[32]This quatrain, the authorship of which is not established, is to be found also in the *Savāneḥ* of Aḥmad Ğazālī (d. 520/1126), ed. Hellmut Ritter (Istanbul, 1942), p. 13; and the *Tamhīdāt* of his pupil, 'Eyn al-Qożāt Hamadānī (d. 526/1132), in *Aḥvāl o āṣār*, ed. 'Afīf 'Oseyrān (Tehran, 1338 Š./1959), p. 236. "Coquetry" *(nāz)* means, in Sufi poetry, the beneficial afflictions to which the seeker is subjected by the interruption of manifestation and withdrawal behind the veil.

[33]A Tradition of dubious authenticity; see Forūzānfar, *Aḥādīṣ-e Maṣnavī*, pp. 30-31.

such that the intelligence might penetrate to the depths of His essence and attributes. Rather, His essence may be known through Him alone. Thus it has been said: "I knew my Lord through my Lord, and had it not been for the Grace of my Lord, I would not have known my Lord."

There is a strange and subtle truth which now occurs to us. The Prophet, upon whom be peace and blessings, said: "The first that God created was the Pen; the first that God created was the Intelligence; the first that God created was my spirit."[34] All three statements are true, and all three are the same. Many are confused by this mystery and wonder at it. When he said, "the first that God created was the Pen," the Pen intended is not an ordinary human pen, but the Pen of God, a pen befitting His might and glory, and identical with the pure Spirit and Light of Moḥammad. When God Almighty created the Mohammadan Spirit and looked upon it with the gaze of affection, shame overcame it and caused it to split in two. The intelligence was the half that fell away from the spirit.

It is for this reason that wherever intelligence is present, there too will be shame; and wherever intelligence is absent, shame too will be lacking. This is the inward meaning of the Tradition that "shame is a branch of faith."[35] One half of the Pen of God was the Spirit of the Prophet, and the other half, the Intelligence of the Prophet. Though in appearance they were three, in reality they were the one Pen and its two halves. The Pen was in the hand of God's power, and He wrote with its nib all that He desired in the worlds of Kingship and Dominion. He made of the Pen an oath by which He swore: "By the Pen and that which they write,"[36] and He lauded His Own majestic self for manifesting His power: "Is not He Who created the heavens and the earth able to create the like thereof? Yes, indeed; He is the Creator Supreme, the All-knowing. His command, when He desires aught, is to say to it, 'be,' and it is. So glory be to Him, in

[34]Only the first of these three Traditions is well-attested; it is recorded by Dāremī, Termeẕī, and Ebn Ḥanbal.

[35]Tradition recorded by Moslem, Boḵārī, Abū Dā'ūd, Termeẕī, Nasā'ī, Ebn Māja, Ebn Ḥanbal, and Mālek.

[36]Qur'an, 68:1.

Whose hand is the Dominion of all things, and unto Whom ye shall be returned."[37]

May God's peace and blessings be upon our master Moḥammad and all his family.

[37]Qur'an, 36:81–83.

Third Chapter:
Concerning the Appearance of the Different Realms of Kingship and Dominion

God Almighty said: "Surely in the creation of the heavens and the earth, and the alternation of night and day, and the ship that runs on the seas with profit to men, and the water God sends down from heaven, therewith reviving the earth after its death, and His scattering forth in it of all manner of crawling thing, and the turning about of the winds, and the clouds, subjugated between heaven and earth—surely there are signs for a people having understanding."[1]

The Prophet, upon whom be peace and blessings, said: "God created the soil on Saturday, the mountains rooted therein on Sunday, the trees on Monday, evil on Tuesday, light on Wednesday; He scattered forth the beasts on Thursday; and He created Adam on the evening of Friday, at the end of one of the hours between afternoon and night."[2]

Know that God Almighty has created numerous different worlds, extending from the beginning of the world of spirits to the end of the world of bodies, including this world and the hereafter, and Kingship and Dominion. In each world He has created spiritual and corporeal classes of beings, each class comprising different types imbued by Him with distinctive properties.

Thus He has created numerous different types of the class of being known as angel: the cherubim,[3] the spirit beings, the bearers of the throne;[4] the angels pertaining to each of the seven spheres, each sphere having its separate type; the scribes, the

[1]Qur'an, 2:164.

[2]Tradition recorded by Ebn Ḥanbal, Moslem, Abū Dā'ūd, Termeẕī, Nasā'ī, Ebn Māja, and Dāremī.

[3]Cherubim *(karrūbī):* the angels mentioned as *moqarrabūn* ("those drawn nigh to God's throne") in Qur'an, 4:172, and given the name of *karrūbīyūn* by most exegetes.

[4]Cf. Qur'an, 40:7: "Those who bear the Throne, and those round about it proclaim the praise of their Lord"; and 69:17: "and the angels will be on the sides [of the skies rent asunder], and eight will on that day bear the Throne of thy Lord above them."

immaculate[5] and the noble recorders;[6] and the angels of the air under whose sway come the clouds, the rain, thunder, lightning, and the wind. According to a certain Tradition, every raindrop is entrusted to an angel so that it may fall precisely where God has ordained. Then there are the angels appointed over the seas; those of the earth; the guardian angels of the night and the day;[7] the angels of the circles and gatherings of pious remembrance; the angels of the wombs; the angels who infuse passing thoughts into men's inward beings; those who repel Satan from the sons of Adam; those who protect children; Monkar and Nakīr who interrogate the newly buried dead;[8] those who bear glad tidings; those who bring torment; the angels of death who seize men's spirits; the angels of life who blow upon the trumpet of Resurrection;[9] the angels to whom men's daily sustenance is entrusted; those who bear messages; those who have two, three, and four pairs of wings;[10] those who are the treasurers of Paradise; Reżvān, the gatekeeper of Paradise; those who are the servants of Paradise; those who are the treasurers of Hell; the angels of punishment;[11] the guardians of Hell and those entrusted with its supervision;[12] those who are entrusted with the seven planes of

[5]These two types of angel, the "scribes" and the "immaculate," are mentioned in Qur'an, 80:12-16: "Whoso wills shall remember it [revelation], upon pages high-honored, uplifted, purified, by the hands of scribes noble and immaculate." *Safara* (scribes) and *barara* (immaculate) are in apposition; yet Dāya appears to regard each as a separate type of angel.

[6]The "noble recorders" are mentioned in Qur'an, 82:10-12: "There are over you watchers, noble recorders, who know what ye do."

[7]Cf. Qur'an, 6:61: "He is the All-powerful over His bondsmen, and He sends guardians over you."

[8]Monkar and Nakīr are mentioned only in Tradition, not in the Qur'an, although 40:50 ("They shall say, 'did not your messengers bring you the clear signs?' They shall say, 'Yes' ") has been taken to refer to the sepulcral interrogation. The names of both angels are derived from the root *NKR,* having the sense of "unknown," a derivation justified by their unfamiliar and awesome aspect.

[9]Cf. Qur'an, 6:73, 18:99, 20:102, etc.

[10]Cf. Qur'an, 35:1: "Praise be to God, Who created out of nothing the heavens and the earth, Who made the angels messengers with wings, two, three or four pairs."

[11]*Zabāniya:* cf. Qur'an, 96:18.

[12]"The guardians of Hell": *(mālekān):* cf. Qur'an, 43:77: "They shall call, 'O guardian *(mālek),* let thy Lord have done with us!' He shall say, 'Ye will surely tarry.' " *Mālek* is generally taken to be a proper name designating a single angel who is the guardian of Hell; Dāya, however, uses the word in the plural.

the firmament and the descending degrees of Hell;[13] the angels who hold in their hands the veins of the soil and the mountains; the angel who bears upon his shoulders the cow, the fish, and the world;[14] and the Spirit,[15] who occupies a rank separate from that of all the other angels. In addition to all these there are still further angels, in the heavens and on earth, in this world and the hereafter, and the number and nature of each class is known to God Almighty alone.

The angelic realm is thus one of the different realms of creation, containing numerous types of angel each with its separate and distinctive attribute and property. Behold now the types and classes of being found in the other realms: men; animals, terrestrial and marine; the various classes of jinn, devil, demon,[16] rebellious spirit,[17] ghoul and *nasnās;*[18] the inhabitants of Jābalqā

[13]"Planes" *(aṭbāq):* cf. Qur'an, 67:3: "He Who created the seven heavens one upon another *(ṭebāqan).*" "Descending degrees" *(darakāt):* cf. Qur'an, 4:145: "The hypocrites shall be in the lowest depth *(dark)* of the Fire; no helper wilt thou find for them."

[14]According to a cosmological notion of apparently pre-Islamic Iranian origin, the world is borne on the horns of a cow which in turn stands on a fish swimming in the cosmic ocean.

[15]The Spirit *(rūḥ):* cf. Qur'an, 70:4, 78:38 and 97:4, in each of which verses occurs the phrase, "the angels and the Spirit." The Spirit is generally taken to mean Gabriel, the angel of revelation.

[16]See p. 61, n. 7.

[17]See p. 61, n. 6.

[18]*Nasnās:* a mythical being combining human and demonic features. "The *nasnās* is an animal found in the deserts of Turkestan. It has a tall and upright stature and broad fingernails. It is extremely fond of humans, and whenever it sees a human, it will stand in his path and gaze upon him. If it meets a solitary traveler, it will carry him off and take seed from him, so it is said" (Neẓāmī 'Arūżī [d. c. 550/1155], *Čahār maqāla,* ed. Moḥammad Qazvīnī [Tehran, 1334 Š./1955], pp. 14–15). According to other accounts, the *nasnās* was born of the union of a demon and a human being, inhabits the Yemen, and speaks Arabic (Zakareyā b. Moḥammad Qazvīnī [d. 682/1283], *'Ajā'eb al-maḵlūqāt* [Tehran, n.d.], p. 384). The widely traveled nineteenth-century Sufi, Zeyn al-'Ābedīn Šīrvānī, wrote that "although the masses of mankind are in truth all *nasnās,* it is said that the *nasnās* is a type of savage bereft of the gift of speech, frequently encountered in the [East] Indian archipelago, and not without some share of beauty" *(Ḥadā'eq al-siyāḥa,* ed. Fażlollāh 'Alavī [Tehran, 1389/1969], p. 539). This last description foreshadows the modern usage of the word to mean orangutang.

and Jābalsā;[19] Gog and Magog,[20] and other classes of creature mentioned in stories. Then there are the different types of houri[21] and serving maids, the youths[22] and boys[23] of Paradise; the various kinds of plant and animal; solids and minerals; bodies subtle and dense, simple and compound; the elements; different kinds of light and darkness; essences and accidents; colors, natures, dispositions, properties, attributes, consequences, forms, shapes, images, meanings, mysteries, subtle essences, and immutable truths; the outer senses, such as hearing, sight, smell, taste, and touch; the inner senses such as the intellect, the heart, the secret, the spirit, and the hidden;[24] the human faculties such as the imaginative, the conceptual, the reflective, the recollective, the memorizing and the regulatory, as well as common sense; and then a further category of faculties such as the attractive, the retentive, the digestive, and the excretive, as well as other practical faculties, the detailed description of which can be found elsewhere.

[19]Jābalqā and Jābalsā: two mythical cities situated, respectively, at the extreme east and west of the earth. Jābalqā has been identified with the realm of archetypes *('ālam al-meṣāl)*, situated to the east of the world of spirits and constituting an isthmus between the seen and the unseen. Jābalsā is similarly situated to the west of the world of bodies. It is also said of Jābalqā that it is the point where necessary and contigent existence *(vojūb* and *emkān)* converge, and that it comprises the immutable archetypes *(a'yān-e ṣābeta)* of all things. Jābalsā is, by contrast, the field of manifestation *(majlā)* of the divine names, where the archetypes take on substantial and differentiated form. Whatever rises sunlike in its essence from the orient of Jābalqā will set in the occident of Jābalsā, in the darkness of the world of forms. The two mythical cities are, then, the poles that encompass created being. See the numerous references in Henry Corbin, *Terre Céleste et Corps de Resurrection* (Paris, 1960).

[20]Gog and Magog: two peoples mentioned in the following Qur'anic verses: "O Ẕu'l-Qarneyn! Gog and Magog are doing corruption in the earth; so shall we assign to thee a tribute against thy setting up a barrier between us and them?" (18:94); and "There is a ban upon any city that We have destroyed; they shall not return until Gog and Magog are unloosed and swarm down from every slope" (21:95–96). On the basis of these verses, Gog and Magog have been considered to be two ferocious and savage peoples who toward the end of time will break out of their enclosed dwelling places on the edge of the world to wreak havoc and destruction. Concerning Ẕu'l-Qarneyn and his possible identification with Alexander, see n. 3 to the prologue.

[21]Cf. Qur'an, 44:54, 52:20, 55:72, 56:22.

[22]Cf. Qur'an, 44:54, 52:20, 55:72, 56:22.

[22]Youths *(ḡelmān)*: cf. Qur'an, 52:24.

[23]Boys *(woldān)*: cf. Qur'an, 56:17, 76:19.

[24]For a discussion of these five inner senses, see p. 134, n. 9.

Then there are the supernal entities, such as the Throne,[25] the Footstool,[26] the Tablet,[27] and the Pen;[28] the divisions of the zodiac,[29] the spheres, the planets both moving and fixed, and the mansions of the moon;[30] the Frequented House;[31] the Lote Tree of the Extremity;[32] the Distance of Two Bowstrings;[33] and Nonlocality, as well as different classes of being and types of creature.

[25]The Throne *('arš)*: cf. Qur'an, 7:54, 10:3, 13:2, and twenty other mentions. The Throne is regarded as the "stable center" of the divine names from which their manifestations emerge; it is also the equivalent of the universal soul *(nafs-e kollīya)* that encompasses all things. It therefore stands at the center of the cosmos and embraces it simultaneously. Its terrestrial counterpart is the Ka'ba, while in the microcosm it corresponds to the heart. See Sajjādī, *Farhang-e moṣṭalaḥāt-e 'orafā va motaṣavvefa*, p. 274, and p. 203 below.

[26]The Footstool *(korsī)*: cf. Qur'an, 2:255. On the basis of a Tradition, the Footstool is said to be the threshold of the Throne and to encompass the seven heavens. According to Dāya's *tafsīr*, it corresponds in the microcosm to the inner sense designated as the *serr* ("mystery"). See the passage quoted by Ḥaqqī, *Rūḥ al-bayān*, I, p. 404. Finally, the Footstool has been identified as the locus of divine command and prohibition (Sajjādī, *Farhang-e moṣṭalaḥāt-e 'orafā va motaṣavvefa*, p. 326).

[27]The Tablet *(lowḥ)*: cf. Qur'an, 85:22. The Tablet is generally understood to be the heavenly archetype of the Qur'an, or alternatively, undifferentiated manifestation. Dāya's *tafsīr* suggests the additional sense of "the heart of the Prophet and of his heirs, the saints enamored of God" (quoted in Ḥaqqī, *Rūḥ al-bayān*, X, p. 396).

[28]The Pen *(qalam)*: cf. Qur'an, 68:1, 96:4. The Pen represents the efficient cause of differentiated manifestation, the means whereby forms are traced out in the book of the cosmos, the Tablet; it is identified by Dāya with the Mohammadan Spirit and the Universal Intellect (see above, p. 78). In his *tafsīr* of Qur'an, 68:1, Dāya further suggests that the Pen may refer to God's knowledge of particulars (quoted in Ḥaqqī, *Rūḥ al-bayān*, X, p. 103).

[29]Cf. Qur'an, 85:1, 15:16, 25:61.

[30]Cf. Qur'an, 10:5, 36:39.

[31]The Frequented House *(beyt al-ma'mūr)*: cf. Qur'an, 52:4. The Ka'ba frequented by pilgrims; its heavenly archetype, the Throne; or its microcosmic counterpart, the heart (Dāya, quoted in Ḥaqqī, *Rūḥ al-bayān*, IX, pp. 185-186).

[32]The Lote Tree of the Extremity *(sedrat al-montahā)*: cf. Qur'an, 53:13-18: "For indeed he [the Prophet] saw him [Gabriel] once more, by the Lote Tree of the Extremity, when there covered the Lote Tree that which covered; his eyes swerved not nor strayed. Truly he beheld some of the supreme signs of his Lord." These verses refer to the Me'rāj of the Prophet, his ascent to heaven from Jerusalem through the different realms of being. According to certain traditions, the Lote Tree, which is the abode of Gabriel, is situated in the seventh heaven, to the right of the Throne. It also marks the boundary of the knowable, for beyond it stands naught but that which is absolutely hidden *(al-ğeyb al-moṭlaq)*, and the frontier between unity and multiplicity (Dāya quoted in Ḥaqqī, *Rūḥ al-bayān*, IX, p. 225).

[33]The Distance of Two Bowstrings *(qāba qawsayn)*: cf. Qur'an, 53:9: "And he was the distance of two bowstrings or closer." The distance of the Prophet from the divine presence at the end of the Me'rāj. See above, p. 55, n. 12.

Who might describe them, for in truth none but God, almighty and exalted, is aware of their subtleties? "None knows the armies of thy Lord except He."[34]

According to certain Traditions, there are eighteen thousand different worlds,[35] while others give the number as seventy thousand or three hundred and sixty thousand. All, however, are subsumed in the two worlds of Creation and Command, or Kingship and Dominion, as God Almighty said, praising His creation thereof: "Verily His are the Creation and the Command. Blessed be God, the Lord of the Worlds."[36]

As for the degrees and stages of Kingship and Dominion, the first degree of Dominion consists of two parts: spirits and souls. Among the spirits the first degree is that of the human spirit, as was explained in the previous chapter; then come in descending order the angelic spirits, the spirits of the jinn, those of the demons, those of the animals, and the vegetable souls which are also called the vegetable spirit.

As for the degree of souls, their origin and beginning is the universal intelligence; then, after the degrees of the differentiated intelligences, come the souls of the Throne, the Footstool, the Tablet, and the Pen; those of the spheres and the divisions of the zodiac; those of the fixed and moving planets; those of the centers, such as the ethereal center which is the center of fire, the air which is the center of wind, the ocean which is the center of water, and the land which is the center of earth; those of minerals; those of compound bodies; and those of simple bodies and elements.

This, then, is a concise exposition of the stages and degrees of what in the different worlds pertains to Dominion.

All this is unveiled to those wayfarers endowed with insight

[34]Qur'an, 74:31.

[35]For an account of the concept of eighteen thousand worlds and its occurrence in various texts, see Moḥammad Parvīn Gūnābādī, "Hejdah hazār 'ālam," in *Yādnāma-ye 'Allāma-ye Amīnī*, eds. Seyyed Jā'far Šahīdī and Moḥammad Reżā Ḥakīmī (Tehran, 1352 Š./1973), pp. 21–33.

[36]Qur'an, 7:54.

who attain the station of Showing: "We shall show them Our signs upon the horizons and in their souls."[37] If the degrees appear to them in other than their proper order, this is not on account of any error in the world of unveiling, but rather because of an error in the gaze of the soul in the perception of matters relating to the unseen world, or an error of the reflective faculty, which is like an ambassador passing back and forth between the unseen world and the seen. For that which is unveiled to the gaze of the spirit in the world of the unseen is not subject to variation or error, particularly since the gaze of the spirit is strengthened with the aid of God's light. Thus it has been said: "Beware of the intuitive vision of the believer, for he gazes forth with God's light."[38] Now the soul is subordinate to the spirit and dependent on it for the perception of those matters relating to the unseen world that are within its reach; hence fancy and imagination may intervene, and variation, excess, and deficiency come to affect perception. Moreover, as has been explained concerning these matters relating to the unseen world and their degrees, each group of men, the People of the Path and the People of Wisdom, has a different method and teaching in accordance with its mode of vision:

Those who look on Thy fair face,
When they gaze in from the horizons,
See their own image in the mirror,
And thus arise these many different signs.[39]

As for the degrees of creation of the worlds comprising Kingship, the following has been related in a Tradition: "When God desired to create this world, He created a substance upon which He gazed with an awesome gaze, causing it to melt. From awe of the Compassionate, it split into two halves, one fire, the other water. He caused the fire to pass over the water, and smoke

[37]Qur'an, 41:53.

[38]Tradition recorded by Termeẕī.

[39]Two lines of verse from the poet Anvarī (d. 565/1169-1170) (*Dīvān*, ed. Sa'īd Nafīsī [Tehran, 1337 Š./1958], p. 487). Although Anvarī was not a Sufi poet, Dāya's quotation of his verses implies a mystical interpretation: the "horizons" signify the manifestation of the attributes in phenomenal creation, and that toward which they "gaze in" consists of human souls (cf. Qur'an, 41:53).

arose. He created the heavens from the smoke, and the earth from the froth on the surface of the water." In this manner did He create the heavens and the earth.

The degrees and stages of earthly creation are stated in concise form in the Qur'anic verse quoted at the beginning of this chapter and expounded in detail by the Prophet, upon whom be peace, in the Tradition following the verse. God created the earth on Saturday, which was the first of days pertaining to this world, for days are the result of time, and time is the result of the rotation of the spheres. When He created the heavens and caused them to revolve, the first of the days appeared, and He called it Saturday. On Sunday He created the mountains, on Monday the plants and trees, on Tuesday pain and evil, on Wednesday the lights, on Thursday the different species of animal, and on Friday, after the afternoon prayer, in the last hour of the day,[40] He created Adam, upon whom be peace. These stages constitute the outer meaning of the Tradition; now hear its inner meaning.

Know that a beam from the effulgent light of the spirit of the Prophet—upon whom be peace—passed through the degrees of *malakūt* constituted by the spirits until it reached the last of beings, namely the *malakūt* of simple elements. Another beam from the effulgent light of the spirit of the Prophet, a beam which we have called the Intelligence, passed through the degrees of *malakūt* constituted by the souls, until it too reached the *malakūt* of the elements. These two beams may be compared to a compass describing a circle: When the compass reaches the end of its revolution, the two arcs composing the circle will be joined and become one. When those two subtle essences, the Spirit and the Intelligence, circled the worlds of the *malakūt* of spirits and the *malakūt* of souls, they joined each other at the final degree of the *malakūt* of the elements. All that was pure in those essences had been expended, as we explained in the comparison with sugar. Treacle-like dregs remained, from which He created the substance referred to by the Prophet, upon whom be peace: "He created a substance upon which He gazed with an

[40]It should be recalled that the Muslim day ends at sunset.

awesome gaze, causing it to melt." He then divided that substance into two through the effect of His awe-inspiring gaze: half of it became fire, and the other half water. He then gave fire dominion over water, so that smoke arose from water. With the smoke, fire began striving upward on account of its extreme subtlety and fleet-footedness, while water remained abased because of its density and sluggishness.

Now hearken to this subtle point: that when God Almighty made that substance the object of His gaze, the part that derived from the effulgent light of the Mohammadan Spirit separated from the part that derived from the Intelligence, and the gaze of the Almighty nurtured it with longing. It aspired again to ascend, while the part that derived from the listless intelligence remained stationary on account of its deficiency. The reason for this is that the Mohammadan Spirit has various attributes, as has already been explained. Among these are love and light: love is a burning fire, while light is listless. Thus the subtle essence that, arising from the Mohammadan Spirit, passes through the degrees of spirits consists of Love, while that from which the Intelligence arises before passing through the degrees of souls consists of light. Between Love and Intelligence there is dispute and conflict, and they can never be reconciled. In every abode where Love alights, Intelligence will quit the dwelling; and wherever Intelligence sets up house, Love will withdraw from view.

> Love came and plundered Intelligence;
> Convey, O heart, these happy tidings to the soul.
> Know that Love is a Turk from the steppe,[41]
> And plundering is not strange in a Turk.
> Intelligence wished, through metaphor,
> In a phrase to describe his cheek,
> But the light of his cheek put forth a tongue of flame,
> And burned both Intelligence and the phrase.

[41]"A Turk from the steppe:" literally, "alien Turk" *(tork-e 'ajamī)*. The expression *tork-e 'ajamī* appears to have originated in the Abbasid period as a designation for Turkish military slaves that had not been fully assimilated into the Muslim-Arab environment. See al-Ya'qūbī, *Ketāb al-boldān*, Leiden, 1892, p. 255.

Now when Love had traversed numerous veils and passed through the degrees of *malakūt* constituted by the spirits, it became separated from its beloved until, in the *malakūt* of the elements, it encountered the subtle essence of the Intelligence. It smelled the fragrance of familiarity, for the Intelligence had come from the same homeland. Even though one had been a king there and the other a mere doorman, because of previous acquaintance and a common homeland, the yearning of "love of homeland is a part of faith"[42] stirred in Love's nature, and it cried:

> The wind wafts the fragrance of Mūliyān's stream;
> The wind wafts too the beloved's perfume.[43]

In the extremity of its longing for the beloved, it laid its arm around the neck of listless Intelligence, reciting the while:

> In memory of thy lip, I kiss the ruby in the ring;
> When that is out of reach, on this I plant my kiss.
> When union grants me not thy hand to kiss
> My devotion I offer, and on the ground plant my kiss.

But at this point the palate of Love's soul tasted again in memory the pleasure it had had from the gaze of the true beloved, and ardor consumed it. It loosed its embrace from the neck of Intelligence, and then declared: "The substance became two halves. One half was Intelligence, cowardly Intelligence, which melted in fear and became water. The other half was Love, which was nurtured by the gaze of the Beloved and overcome by longing. The fire of Love sent forth flames, and caused fire to appear. As there is opposition between water and fire, so too between Intelligence and Love." Thus Love could not be reconciled to Intelligence; it rejected it and abandoned it, and set its face toward the true Beloved.

[42]A Tradition of dubious status; see Forūzānfar, *Aḥādīṣ-e Maṣnavī*, pp. 97-98.

[43]The first line of a famous poem by Rūdakī (d. 329/940), composed, according to the traditional account, at the urging of the courtiers of Naṣr b. Aḥmad the Samanid who were anxious to return to Bokhara after a prolonged absence. Upon hearing the poem and its evocation of the charms of Bokhara, such as the streams of Mūliyān, Naṣr is recounted to have immediately set out homeward. The second hemistich usually begins *yād-e yār* ("the memory of the beloved"; see *Osori Rudaki* [Stalinabad-Dushanbe, 1958], p. 125); Dāya gives it, however, as *bū-ye yār* ("the perfume of the beloved"). See Neẓāmi 'Arūżī, *Čahār maqāla*, pp. 59-66.

Intelligence has naught to do with Love; put it to flight
without ado!
What dost thou want of that spidery, faint-hearted one?
Intelligence may never draw nigh unto Love;
What seeks the rabble of the camp in the king's presence?

The supernal world, consisting of the spheres, the stars, and so forth, was fashioned from the part of the substance that aspired to ascend; while from the part that remained abased were created the land, the mountains, the sea, and other things in the manner set forth above. Then the subtle essence which had arisen from the Mohammadan attribute of love was conducted through the *malakūt* of spirits, and then brought forth from the gate of substance and caused to pass through the forms and attributes of both Kingship and Dominion, so that not a single particle of being, in either of these realms, should remain without one of the mysteries of love being implanted in it. Thus not a single particle remained empty of the love of its Creator, enjoying a degree of love in accordance with its capacity, and by means of this love each particle with its very being praises and glorifies God Almighty: "There is naught but proclaims His praise, but ye understand not their praising."[44]

If Thy lovers are drawn up in review,
Every particle of being will be found in the ranks.
The peacock and the fly will be together in one place,
When the hawk of Thy sorrow begins to hunt.

It is as if God were to say: "O angels, do not boast of your praise and glorifying, nor venture forward self-assertively, saying, 'We proclaim Thy praise and call Thee holy.'[45] Is there aught or anyone that does not praise Our glorious majesty? 'All that is in the heavens and earth proclaims the praise of God: He is the Almighty, the All-wise.'[46] Our glorious majesty is too sublime and magnificent for anyone to be able to praise and laud Us as We deserve. Whatever praise and laudation thou seest coming forth from the denizens of heaven and earth and from every particle

[44]Qur'an, 17:44.
[45]Qur'an, 2:30.
[46]Qur'an, 57:1.

of created being, all derives from the ray of Our divine praise of Our own majesty. 'Glorified and Exalted be thy Lord, the Lord of Glory, above that which they describe.'"[47]

It is by means of the mirror of the Mohammadan Spirit which cast its reflection on the particles of created being that all are engaged in praise and laudation. Everyone imagined that his utterance of praise was a property of his servitude to God and was unaware of the origin of all praise. When it was the turn of the Paragon of Being,[48] he traversed the realms of Kingship and Dominion, nurturing them as he progressed. Then like a fruit he settled on the branch of the tree of creation, this being expressed in the Qur'anic phrase, "the distance of two bowstrings."[49] His truth-perceiving eye was opened by the workings of the mystery of "or nearer,"[50] and the Divine Majesty addressed him, saying: "O Moḥammad, give praise unto me, like the other beings and the angels." The Prophet, upon whom be peace, perceived that all the praise of His Majesty that created beings could accomplish was but borrowed, while his code required that "the borrowed is to be returned."[51] Thus, in accordance with the order "God commands you to deliver trusts back to their owners,"[52] he returned the loan entrusted to him, saying: "The stammering tongue of created being is unfit to praise Thy uncreate Essence—'I cannot enumerate Thy praise.' Only Thy attributes are fit to praise Thy Essence: 'Thou art as Thou hast lauded Thyself to be.'"[53]

Thus not only the angels who are mere infants and novices in the school of Adam—"O Adam, teach them their names"[54]—and are unaware even of their own names, but also their teacher Adam, together with all his offspring, all stand beneath Moḥammad's banner of laudation: "On the Day of Resurrection,

[47]Qur'an, 37:180.
[48]I.e., the Prophet.
[49]Qur'an, 53:9 (see p. 55, n. 12).
[50]Qur'an, 53:9.
[51]A Tradition; see Forūzānfar, *Aḥādīs̱-e Mas̱navī*, p. 218.
[52]Qur'an, 4:58.
[53]These two phrases are part of a Tradition recorded by Moslem, Abū Dā'ūd, Nasā'ī, Termeẕī, Ebn Māja, Ebn Ḥanbal.
[54]Qur'an, 2:33.

Adam and all his offspring shall stand beneath my banner, and I take no pride therein; and in my hand shall be the banner of praise, and I take no pride therein."[55] Thus it becomes clear that Moḥammad was the seed of creation and its fruit, and the tree of creation is in truth none other than his being.

Verily a rare bird art thou, that both realms are full of thee,
And ne'er hast thou spread thy wings nor quit thy nest.

Imagine the different types of *malakūt* to be the roots of the tree, corporeal bodies to be its trunk, the Prophets, upon whom be peace and blessings, to be its branches, and the angels to be its leaves. As for the fruit of the tree, it escapes all description and cannot be set down by the two-tongued pen on two-faced paper.

Many a tale did Ḵāqānī write;
When his pen reached here, its head was broken.[56]

Thus just as the tree is contained within the fruit, so too the fruit is contained within the tree, and not a single particle of the tree is without the presence of the fruit. The seed of the tree is drawn from the effulgence of the Light of Unity, and there is no particle of the tree and its fruit which is without the effulgence of the Light of Unity. The hidden meaning of "We are closer to him than the jugular vein"[57] and "He is with you wherever ye are"[58] becomes apparent from this, and the true sense of "God is the Light of the heavens and the earth"[59] stands manifest.

Know that God Almighty has created, in the world of form and image, a form for all that He has brought forth in the world of meaning. Now the form for all the realms of Dominion is the person of Moḥammad, upon whom be peace, and the form for the effulgence of the Light of Unity is the affirmation of unity: "There is no god other than God." The profound cause for the

[55]Part of a Tradition recorded by Däremī.
[56]A line from the poet Ḵāqānī (d. 595/1199) (*Dīvān*, ed. 'Alī 'Abd al-Rasūlī [Tehran, 1316 Š./1937], p. 717).
[57]Qur'an, 50:16.
[58]Qur'an, 57:4.
[59]Qur'an, 24:35.

sending of the Prophets was the sowing of the seed of that affirmation in the soil of hearts: "This world is a tillage for the hereafter."[60] Hence it was that the Prophet said: "I have been commanded to fight men until they say: 'There is no god but God.' "[61] What is meant by this if not the scattering of the seed of Unity on the soil of men's hearts? "Hast thou not seen how God has struck a similitude? A good word is as a good tree—its roots are firm, and its branches are in heaven; it gives its fruit every season by the leave of its Lord. Thus God strikes similitudes for men, that haply they may remember."[62]

[60]A Tradition; see Forūzānfar, *Aḥādīṣ-e Maṣnavī*, p. 112.

[61]A Tradition recorded by Moslem, Bokārī, Abū Dā'ūd, Termeẕī, Nasā'ī, Ebn Maja, Ebn Ḥanbal, and Dāremī.

[62]Qur'an, 14:24-25. The "good word" mentioned in these verses is generally understood to be "there is no god but God."

Fourth Chapter:
Concerning the Beginning of the Creation of the Human Frame

God Almighty said: "I am about to create a man from clay."[1]

The Prophet, upon whom be God's peace and blessings, said, narrating the words of God Almighty, the Exalted: "I kneaded the clay of Adam with my hands for forty days."[2]

Know that when it was desired to fashion the human frame from the four elements of water, fire, wind, and earth, they were not kept in the stage of simplicity, but instead carried down through degrees of descent. The first degree was that of compoundness, for the element while at the stage of simplicity is still close to the world of spirits, as was explained. When it is desired to bring the element to the stage of compoundness, it must leave simplicity behind and advance to compoundness, thereby distancing itself one degree from the world of spirits. When it comes to the vegetable stage, it must leave behind compoundness and solidity, thereby becoming a further degree remoter from the world of spirits. When it leaves the vegetable for the animal realm, it descends another degree; and when it abandons the animal for the human state, it descends one more degree. There is no degree lower than that of the human person, and "the lowest of the low" consists thereof.

Our words here refer only to the elements which descend through changing states to these low degrees of remoteness from the world of the spirits; for if you consider the *malakūt* of matter, which after passing through several stages reaches the state of man, it is a question of degrees of ascent, not descent, for with each stage the *malakūt* comes closer to the world of spirits, not more distant from it. Our words concern the form of the elements, which belongs to the world of Kingship, and not their inner aspect, which belongs to the world of Dominion.

[1]Qur'an, 38:71.
[2]Tradition; see p. 76, n. 27.

In the sense intended here, then, the human frame is situated at a lower degree than all creation, and it is truly described as "the lowest of the low." God's words, "then We caused him to descend to the lowest of the low,"[3] refer to the attachment of the spirit to the frame. Thus it is clear that while man's spirit is the supreme apex of creation, his frame is the lowest of the low. The meaning of this verse will now be apparent:

> Thou art the height and depth of this world;
> I know not who thou art; all that is, thou art.[4]

The shaikh of this feeble one, the spiritual monarch of the age, Majd al-Dīn Bağdādi[5]—may God be content with him—said in a collection of his writings: "Glory be to Him Who in His power joined together the nearest of the near and the farthest of the far."

The providential wisdom implicit in the human frame being the lowest of the low and the human spirit the highest of the high is that since man has to carry the burden of the Trust, he must possess the strength of both worlds in perfect measure. There is nothing in either world that is endowed with his strength and thus fitted to bear the burden. The strength must be derived from attributes, not from form, and the strength that the human spirit possesses, as the highest of the high, naught else has in all the world of the spirits, whether angel, demon, or other being. Similarly, the strength that the human soul possesses, as the lowest of the low, naught else has in all the world of the souls, whether savage beast, predator, or other being.

The four elements from which the human frame was fashioned were created out of the residue of the spirits, corresponding to the treacle in the comparison we made in the first chapter with sugar and its boiling by the sugar merchant. In the same way that the attributes of raw white sugar persist in treacle, so

[3]A phrase taken from Qur'an, 95:5: "then We caused him to descend to the lowest of the low."

[4]Verse taken from the *Šāhnāma* of Ferdowsī previously quoted on p. 26 above. See too p. 26, n. 7.

[5]Concerning Majd al-Dīn Bağdādī, see the introduction to this translation, pp. 9-10, and the sources cited there.

too something of each attribute that characterized the spirits remained in the residue constituted by the elements; this we explained in the chapter treating the appearance of the different realms. The subtle essence of each attribute passed through the different classes of being so that not a single particle remained without some slight share in the attributes of the world of spirits. The four elements, even though they were the most distant of beings from the world of spirits, nonetheless contained within them something of the pure attributes of that world. Indeed, that part of the existence of the elements which is capable of survival belongs itself to the world of spirits.

Similarly, although in the kneading of the clay of Adam all satanic, predatory, bestial, vegetable, and mineral attributes were present, his clay was nonetheless set apart by the honor conveyed by the words, "with My hands," and there was bestowed upon him, for each of these reprehensible attributes, a jewel-like shell containing one of the attributes of divinity. Now under the influence of the gaze of the sun, granite becomes the receptacle for garnet, ruby, emerald, turquoise, and agate, like the shell enclosing the pearl.[6] See how through the properties of "I kneaded the clay of Adam with My hands," in a period of "forty days," each of which according to a certain tradition was equivalent to a thousand years, the water and clay of Adam became the shell of a noble pearl. This honoring of Adam was before the inhalation of the spirit, and it was the auspicious fortune of the bodily frame that it was to be the palace of God's viceregent. He labored on it in His own divine person for forty thousand years, and who knows what treasures He secreted in it?

When monarchs in the world of form desire to construct a palace, they set their servants to work, and consider it an indignity to dip their hands in the clay. But when the builders come to the place where the monarch wishes to store his treasure, he sends away all his servants and retinue, dips his own hands in

[6]Precious stones were traditionally supposed to result from the prolonged suffusion of rocks and mountains with sunlight, in the same way that pearls were believed to form within the shell from rainwater penetrating to the depths of the ocean. There is in both cases the notion of a pure element descending and penetrating a grosser one in order to form a jewel in its very heart.

the clay, fashions the place according to the amount and dimension of the treasure, and then installs it himself.

So too when God Almighty was creating the different classes of being, pertaining to this world and the hereafter, to heaven and hell, He employed various intermediaries at each stage. But when it was time to create Adam, He said: "I am about to create a man from clay,"[7] that is, "I myself shall fashion Adam's dwelling of water and clay." This caused confusion to some, and they said, "He created the heavens and the earth';[8] didst Thou not create all?" He replied: "There is a distinction here, for I created all else with the command 'be,' for 'Our command to aught, when We desire it, is "be," and it is';[9] whereas Adam I shall create directly Myself, without intermediary, for I shall conceal within him the treasure of knowledge."

He then ordered Gabriel to go and pick up a fistful of earth and bring it to His presence. Gabriel, upon whom be peace, went to comply with His command. But the earth said, "O Gabriel, what wouldst thou do?" He replied, "I shall take thee to the presence of God that He may fashion a viceregent from thee." The earth then pleaded with Gabriel, saying, "By God's glory and splendor, do not take me, for I have not the strength to bear the burden of being nigh unto Him. Rather I have chosen extreme distance from Him so that I may escape the awesome blows of His wrath. For there is much danger in nearness—'and the sincere are in great peril.'"[10]

> Those close to the monarch are the most distraught,
> for they know the full measure of his wrath.[11]

When Gabriel heard these pleadings and invocations, he re-

[7]Qur'an, 38:71.
[8]Qur'an, 10:3, 11:7, etc.
[9]Qur'an, 16:40.
[10]Part of a Tradition (see Forūzānfar, *Aḥādīṣ-e Maṣnavī*, p. 53), the full text of which is as follows: "All men shall perish except the learned; all the learned shall perish except those who act in accordance with their knowledge; all those shall perish except the sincere; and the sincere are in great peril."
[11]Half of a quatrain probably composed by Abū Sa'īd b. Abu'l-Ḵeyr. See Moḥammad b. Monavvar, *Asrār al-towḥīd*, p. 311.

turned to the Divine Presence and said: "O Lord, Thou art the more knowing: the earth withholds obedience." God then sent Michael,[12] but again the earth pleaded and invoked the Divine glory and splendor. So too did Esrāfīl[13] go and return empty-handed. Then God Almighty commanded 'Ezrā'īl,[14] saying, "If the earth will not come in willing obedience, then seize it with force and coercion and bring it." 'Ezrā'īl went and forcibly plucked up a fistful of earth from the ground. According to a certain tradition, he picked up forty cubits of earth from the ground, brought it to the Divine Presence, and then set it down between Mecca and Ṭā'ef. Love came swiftly rushing to the spot:

The earth for Adam's frame was still unsifted,
 When love came and laid hold of his heart.
This wine I drank when still a suckling infant—
 Nay, rather the wine and the milk were mingled.

The first honor that was bestowed on the earth was this, that it was summoned to the Presence by several messengers, and yet it disdainfully refused, saying, "we comprehend not this mystery."

My words were all *mafā'īl* and *fā'elāt;*
 Far removed was I from all talk of Kingship's secret.[15]

Truly, such is the normal rule: He who is the foremost in the denial of love will be the most exalted in loverhood when he falls prey to love; and the converse is also true.

For a time I denied the love of idols;
 But my denial cast me to ruin.

[12]Michael, mentioned in Qur'an, 2:98, is seen in Tradition as fulfilling various roles: assisting and encouraging Gabriel, the angel of revelation; leading the other angels in prostration before Adam, also in conjunction with Gabriel; and lamenting eternally the necessity for Hell.

[13]Esrāfīl, the angel of resurrection who will rouse the dead from their tombs with his trumpet on the Last Day.

[14]'Ezrā'īl (also spelled 'Azrā'īl), the angel of death who takes men's souls at the appointed hour.

[15]*Mafā'īl, fā'elāt:* paradigms representing two of the feet in Perso-Arabic prosody. The line is quoted from the work of Mojīr al-Din Beylaqānī (d. c. 586/1190).

All the angels were meanwhile biting the finger of surprise with the tooth of astonishment and asking themselves, "What mystery is this, that lowly earth is summoned to the Almighty Presence with such honor, and then, despite its utmost lowliness and abjection, treats Him, for all His might and majesty, with arrogance and disdain? And He, for all His wealth and utter freedom from need, and despite His jealous honor, does not forsake the earth, nor summon another in its place, nor reveal the mystery to anyone!"

> I have grieved beneath the weight of heaven and earth;
> My grief is unquenched, and my beloved, unmatched.
> A gazelle, for example, can be tamed by men,
> But not thou, for all my thousand stratagems.[16]

Divine grace and wisdom then addressed the mystery of the angels, saying: "Truly I know that which ye know not."[17] What know you of the tasks I intend for this fistful of earth, from preeternity to post-eternity?

> A love which has possessed me, from before eternity;
> A task which lies before me, beyond eternity.

You are to be excused, for you have never had any concern with love. You are dry ascetics, living withdrawn in the secluded shrine of sanctity; what might you know of those who run ardently back and forth to love's ruined temple? How might the seekers of safety savor the joys of those who court reproach?[18]

[16]A quatrain quoted from the *Savāneḥ* of Aḥmad Ḡazālī, p. 13.

[17]Qur'an, 2:30.

[18]"Those who court reproach": i.e., the Malāmatīs, the People of Blame, representatives of a current of Islamic piety inspired by the Qur'anic mention of those who "struggle in God's path and fear not the blame of any blamer." The Malāmatī "courts reproach" by concealing all sign of spiritual work and devotion. Originally a current of piety akin to but distinct from Sufism, in the course of time the Malāmatīs became one more Sufi order, and still later degenerated—in many cases—into antinomianism. See Abu'l-'Alā' 'Afīfī, *Al-Malāmatīya wa'-ṣūfīya wa ahl al-fotowwa* (Cairo, 1346/1945), and Abdülbaki Gölpinarli, *Melâmilik ve Melâmiler* (Ankara, 1931). Dāya, of course, uses the term Malāmatī in a deliberately extended and anachronistic sense designed to show the universality of the Malāmatī attitude.

The afflicted know the pain of a wounded heart,
Not the lighthearted with their empty laughter.
Thou hast no share in the *qalandar's*[19] secret,
But the mystery of his ways is known to the libertine.

"Be patient for a few days while I wield My power on this fistful of earth, and cleanse the rust of the darkness of createdness from the mirrorlike visage of its primordial state, and then behold the images of manifold color that appear in its mirror. The first image will be such that all will have to fall before it in prostration."

Then from the cloud of generosity the rain of love poured down on the dust of Adam, turning it to clay, and with the hand of His power God fashioned a heart of clay within the clay.

From love's dew Adam's dust turned to clay;
The world fell into tumult and disarray.
The lancet of love pierced the vein of the spirit;
A drop of blood fell, and they called it the heart.[20]

The entire exalted host, cherubim and spirit beings, gazed on the scene in wonder: God the Almighty and Glorious worked for forty days and nights on fashioning the clay of Adam, and just as the potter who wishes to make an earthenware pot rubs and molds the clay in different ways, adding to it as he proceeds, so too did God Almighty knead Adam's clay: "He created man from clay like baked earthenware."[21] In each particle of the clay He secreted a heart, which He then nurtured with the gaze of His grace, and His wisdom addressed the angels, saying: "Look upon the heart, not upon the clay."

[19]*Qalandar:* an untranslatable term with a wide range of meaning. Its most common sense is one who deliberately offends against social and religious norms in order to approach God by his own obscure path. *Qalandars* also came to form a Sufi order in Turkey, while elsewhere they fell swiftly into open antinomianism and debauchery. See Mortażā Ṣarrāf, "Ā'īn-e Qalandarī," *Armağān,* LIII (1350 Š./1971), pp. 15-21.

[20]A quatrain of Afżal al-Dīn Kāšānī. See *Moṣannafāt,* eds. Mojtabā Mīnovī and Yaḥyā Mahdavī (Tehran, 1337 Š./1958), II, p. 764.

[21]Qur'an, 55:14.

If I fix my gaze on the stone,
It yields the burnt heart that it holds.

According to certain traditions, the Divine Power was exercised on Adam's clay for forty thousand years in accordance with perfect wisdom, between Mecca and Ṭā'ef. Mirrors were affixed to him on both the outside and inside, to the number of the divine attributes, each one being a manifestation of a separate attribute. It is generally believed that a thousand and one mirrors were put in place, to correspond to a thousand and one attributes. Now even though the possessor of beauty may have gold and silver ornaments in abundance, in her view nothing has the same value as a mirror. For gold and silver ornaments are subject to damage which the beautiful one cannot set aright; but if the slightest dust alights on the face of the mirror, immediately and with the utmost care she will wipe it clean with the sleeve of generosity. Moreover, even if she has a thousand hundredweights of gold jewelry, she can do little with it but store it in her dwelling, or use it to adorn her hands and ears. Hence she turns away from it all, and remains face to face with the mirror—

We are infatuated with thee—and thou, with the mirror;
Our gaze is fixed on thee—and thine, on the mirror.
When the mirror glimpsed thy beauty and thou, thine own fairness,
Thou wert enamored of thyself; still more was the mirror.[22]

Love for thy face it was that thus sharply
Parted me from men and turned me toward thee.

In each beauty-displaying mirror that was placed in Adam's being was set too a beauty-perceiving eye, so that as God might behold Himself in the mirror, through a thousand and one apertures, so too Adam might behold Him with a thousand and one eyes.

When thou lookest upon me, my whole body becomes a heart;

[22]Two lines taken from a poem by Ḵāqānī (*Dīvān*, p. 393).

When I look upon thee, my whole heart becomes
an eye.[23]

Here love becomes reversed. If the beloved desires to flee from the lover, he lays hold of his skirt with a thousand hands. The beloved protests, saying: "First you fled from me, yet now you would seize me," and the lover replies, "Yes, I fled then so that I would not have to seize you today."

I reared like a stallion all unaware
That the lasso tightens when pulled.[24]

Then I was dust, and sought to shun you; now I am a heart, and will not release you. If then I loved you not so much as a grain of dust, today I would make amends and love you with a thousand hearts—

Behold this wonder that I who have not a single heart
Love thee with not less than a thousand.

Thus did the frame of Adam lie for forty thousand years between Mecca and Ṭā'ef, and each moment some delicate jewel, some noble essence from the hidden treasuries of the unseen, was implanted within his being. All the precious contents of those treasuries were buried in Adam's clay, until when it was the turn of his heart, the clay for it was brought from the soil of Paradise, soaked in the water of eternal life, and nurtured in the sunlight of three hundred and sixty divine glances.

Heed now the subtle truth inherent in this figure of three hundred and sixty. Adam's clay was kneaded for forty thousand years, and forty thousand years is equivalent to three hundred and sixty thousand times forty days. Upon completing each thousandth period of forty days, Adam's clay became deserving of one divine glance, and when three hundred and sixty thousand such periods had been completed, it became worthy of three hundred and sixty glances.

[23]The first line of a quatrain of uncertain attribution.
[24]Part of a poem by the poetess Rābe'a b. Qozdarī (fl. fourth/tenth century). See Ẕabīḥollāh Ṣafā, *Ganj-e soḵan* (Tehran, 1339 Š./1960), I, p. 54.

One glance from the friend, and happiness by the
hundred thousand;
I wait upon the time when that one glance is given.

Now when the heart reached this stage of perfection, there was a jewel in the treasure house of the unseen that was hidden even to the gaze of the treasurers and guarded by God Himself in His own divine person. For He proclaimed: "There is no treasury worthy of this jewel other than Our presence, or the heart of Adam." And the jewel was the jewel of love, secreted within the shell of the Trust of knowledge that had been offered to all the worlds of Kingship and Dominion. But none was deemed a fit treasury for housing the jewel, or a proper treasurer for guarding it. Only the heart of Adam was fit to be treasury, for it had been nurtured by the sun of the divine glance; and only the soul of Adam was worthy to act as treasurer, for it had been nourished several thousand years on the effulgent light of the attributes of Majesty of the Unity of the Essence.

I became enthralled by that idol on the day
That Adam was lying between Mecca and Ṭā'ef.

Strange it is that several thousand kindnesses and favors were lavished on Adam's heart and soul by God's uncaused grace, both in the seen and the unseen worlds, and none of it was confided to the cherubim, so that they all remained ignorant of Adam's true nature. One by one they passed by Adam and said: "What strange image is this, now being adorned? What creature of manifold hue, about to emerge from the veil of the unseen?" Adam meanwhile said softly to himself: "Even if you do not know me, I know you. Wait until I raise my head from sweet sleep, and I shall recite your names one by one." For among the jewels that had been buried within him was the knowledge of all names: "And He taught Adam all the names."[25]

However much the angels examined the form of Adam, they were unable to discover the compendium of mysteries that he in truth was. But Eblīs the cunning was once walking around Adam, and gazing on him with his one squint eye, saw his mouth

[25]Qur'an, 2:31.

to be open. He said to the other angels: "Wait here, for I have found the means to loosen the knot of our problem. I will enter this hole and see what I discover within." When he descended the hole and explored the being of Adam, he found it to be a small world in itself, and beheld there a replica of all that he had seen in the great world without. He found his head to be like the heavens with their seven layers; and in the same way that there are seven moving stars in the seven heavens, he found seven faculties in the seven layers of the human head: the imaginative, the conceptual, the reflective, the memorizing, the recollective, and the regulatory faculties, together with common sense. As there are angels in heaven, so too there were the senses of sight, hearing, smell, and taste in the head. Furthermore, Eblīs found Adam's body to be like the earth: As there are trees, plants, flowing streams, and mountains on the earth, the body had long hairs on the head, corresponding to trees; short hairs on the body, corresponding to plants; veins, corresponding to flowing streams; and bones, corresponding to mountains.

As there are four seasons in the macrocosm—spring, autumn, summer, winter—so too he found four humors in the microcosm—heat, coldness, wetness, and dryness, these being inherent in the yellow bile, black bile, phlegm, and blood, respectively.

In the macrocosm there are four winds, those of the spring, autumn, summer, and winter. The spring wind fecundates trees, brings forth leaves, and causes verdure to grow; that of the summer ripens the fruit; that of the autumn dries it; and that of the winter causes it to fall. So too in Adam there were four winds: the attractive, digestive, retentive, and excretive faculties. The attractive faculty draws food toward his gullet, and gives it to the digestive to be ripened and matured. It then passes to the retentive faculty, which extracts all possible benefit from it, and is finally expelled from the body by the excretive faculty. In the same way that the absence of one of the four winds of the macrocosm would cause the ruin of the world, so too the absence of one of the four winds of the microcosm would render impossible the stability of the human frame.

In the macrocosm there are four kinds of water—salt, bitter,

fetid, and sweet—and each of these was also found to be present in Adam. Each was set in a certain place in accordance with divine wisdom. Salt water was placed in the eye, for the eye contains tallow and tallow is preserved through salt water.[26] Tallow serves to protect the eye; the eye to protect the white of the eye; the white of the eye to protect the black of the eye; and the black of the eye to protect the pupil. The pupil is the locus of vision, and vision is the cause of sight.

Bitter water was placed in the ear to forbid access to insects; fetid water in the nostrils so that what formed in the nose might be evacuated by the nostrils; and sweet water in the mouth, to keep the mouth sweet and the tongue fluent in speech, as well as to accompany food on its way down the gullet. Much providential wisdom may be observed in the case of each, and it would take long to enumerate.

There are other examples of how all that is in the macrocosm is to be found also in the microcosm, but a complete exposition would lead to prolixity.

When, then, Eblīs traversed the entirety of Adam's bodily frame, he perceived an indication of the macrocosm in all that he saw. But when he came to the heart, he saw it to be like a pavilion, with the breast in front of it like the square erected before a royal palace. However much he sought a way to gain access to the heart he was unable, and said to himself: "All that I have previously seen was easy; it is here that the difficulty lies. If one day this person should cause us some misfortune, it may have its origin here; and if God Almighty has some task planned for this frame, or secreted something within it, it is here that it may be hidden." With a hundred thousand such thoughts, he turned back from the heart's threshold in despair.

Since Eblīs was not admitted to the court of Adam's heart and the hand of rejection was laid upon him, he was rejected by all the world. It is for this reason that the elders of the Path have said: "Whoever is rejected by one heart is rejected by all hearts;

[26]It was traditionally believed that the eye was fashioned of a substance akin to tallow.

and whoever is accepted by one heart is accepted by all hearts." This is true on condition that the heart in question is truly a heart, for most men cannot distinguish between the heart and the soul.

> A heart it is wherein in time of trouble
> Ye find naught but God.[27]

When Eblīs emerged from Adam's frame disappointed and dismayed, he said to the angels: "There is no cause for alarm. This person is hollow; he needs food and is subject to lust like other animals; we may soon gain mastery over him. But in his breast I found a pavilion with neither door nor roof, and there was no way of entering; I know not what it can be."

The angels said: "The difficulty is still unsolved; we have not come to the root of the matter." So they went back to the presence of God Almighty and said: "O Lord! Thou it is that solves all difficulties, that loosens all knots, that bestows all knowledge! Thou hast labored for some time in Thine own divine person on this fistful of earth, created from it a whole world, and hidden countless treasures therein. Yet Thou hast told us nothing of the whole affair, nor confided in any of us; tell us now what is to be the outcome."

The Almighty addressed them, saying: "'I am about to make a viceregent on earth.'[28] I am creating a deputy for My majestic presence on earth, a task which is not yet complete. That which you see is his dwelling, his abode, and the seat of his throne. When I have completed it and seated him on the throne of viceregency, fall in prostration before him. 'When I have fashioned him and inhaled in him of My spirit, fall ye down in prostration before him.'"[29]

They said to each other: "Our difficulty has but grown. He now orders us to prostrate ourselves before him and calls him

[27] A line from the *Ḥadīqat al-ḥaqīqa* of Sanā'ī, ed. Modarres Rażavī (Tehran, n.d.), p. 339.
[28] Qur'an, 2:30.
[29] Qur'an, 15:29.

His viceregent. We never knew that any but He was worthy to receive prostration. We knew Him, Almighty and Exalted, to be without helper or partner, without like or peer, without consort or offspring; we knew not that any was worthy to be His viceregent and deputy. Let us go and circumambulate this Ka'ba, and learn well the nature of this dwelling."

They came and walked around Adam's frame, all gazing upon it with care. They said: "We see here naught but water and clay. The beauty of viceregency is not to be observed in him, nor can we remark any worthiness to receive prostration." But from the unseen an indication came to their souls:

The beloved is not to be seen with the eyes of others;
'Tis with my eyes my cherished one should be seen.

They said: "This person cannot be of any account because of his form. Perhaps his worth derives from his attributes; let us then examine them." Upon close examination they saw Adam's frame to be made of the four elements: earth, wind, water, and fire. They then found that the attribute of earth was immobility and that of wind, mobility, and that earth was thus in opposition to wind. Similarly, they found that water was abased and fire exalted, and that these two were in opposition to each other.

They looked again and found the humor of earth to be dry, that of wind to be wet, that of water to be cold, and that of fire to be hot, and all were thus in opposition to each other. They then said: "Wherever two opposites are joined, naught but corruption and transgression can arise. 'If there were within them a plurality of gods, other than God, both would decay.'[30] And if it is true of the macrocosm that it is subject to corruption because of the opposition of the elements and their attributes, it will be even truer of the microcosm."

Again they returned to the Divine Presence, and said: "'Wilt Thou make upon earth one who will cause corruption and bloodshed?'[31] Wilt Thou bestow the viceregency upon one who will give

[30] Qur'an, 21:22. "Both" refers to the heavens and the earth.
[31] Qur'an, 2:30.

rise to corruption and bloodshed?" It is related in tradition that their words were not yet finished when a flame leapt forth from the pavilions of Splendor and Majesty and set fire to some of their number.

Know that the lamp kindled by God
Burns whoever would blow out its flame.

The substance of Adam's viceregency, drawing on the capital of corporeal being, has inspired these verses in my feeble self:

All thou hast seen of us is but our shadow;
Our substance lies beyond creation's twin realms.
We are without we; this is our resource for the task;
We nurture others, and He nurtures us.

The first seeker of reproach in the world was Adam; or, to tell the truth, it was none other than God the glorious Himself, for the first objection was that made to Him: "Wilt Thou make upon earth one who will cause corruption and bloodshed?"[32] Here lies a wondrous indication that the foundation of love is the courting of reproach.[33]

Better for love to be in the company of blame;
Safety's for the ascetic held back by his shame.

The soul of Adam silently addressed the Majestic Presence, saying: "With the rope of reproach we have lifted the burden of the Trust onto the shoulder of our soul; we have sold safety and bought reproach. We fear the blame of no one; let them say what they will, for it matters not."

"Let them rip my fur cloak to pieces
If it be for thy sake, nimble rogue!"
Be alone in thy love, and pay men no heed;
The beloved is thine, so dust on the world's head!

Honor enough were it for Adam that God Almighty created

[32]Qur'an, 2:30.
[33]See n. 18 above.

the heavens and earth and all therein in six days and nights—"He created the heavens and earth in six days"[34]—and did not bestow on them the honor of "with My hands,"[35] even though they formed the macrocosm. But to the creation of Adam, the microcosm, He assigned no less than forty days, and He bestowed on him too the cloak of honor of "with My hands," so that the unaware might realize that he has a distinction in the Almighty Presence which no other being enjoys. Moreover, through the property of "with My hands," a mystery was secreted in Adam's nature upon which all other beings were dependent for their creation. All these honors pertained to his frame, the microcosm corresponding to the macrocosm. But consider the special dignity bestowed on his spirit by the Almighty, for "I inhaled in him from My spirit"![36] Compared to the infinitude that the realm of the spirit thus acquired, this world, the hereafter, and all therein appear to be a mere microcosm.

When the two are joined together, spirit and frame, and brought to perfection, who knows what felicity and auspicious fortune He will shower down on them! Wretched is he who, deprived of perfection, looks upon his own self in contempt, uses the potentialities of the human degree, the noblest part of creation, to gain bestial pleasures, the vilest part of creation, and thus remains ignorant of his own true worth!

Thou art the offspring of two worlds,
  Passed from one nursemaid to the next.
First of all by innate nature, last by frame;
  Such art thou, waste not thyself in game.[37]

[34]Qur'an, 7:53, 10:30, 11:7, 57:4.
[35]Part of the *ḥadīs̱* discussed on p. 76, n. 27.
[36]Qur'an, 15:29.
[37]A line from the *Šāhnāma* of Ferdowsī (IV, p. 276).

Fifth Chapter:
Concerning the Beginning of the Attachment of the Spirit to the Frame

God Almighty said: "When I have fashioned him and inhaled in him of My spirit, fall ye down in prostration before him."[1]

The Prophet, upon whom be God's peace and blessings, said: "The creation of one of you is that he is a drop of sperm for forty days, collected in his mother's womb; then a drop of coagulated blood for another forty days; and then a formless lump of flesh for a further forty days. Then God sends an angel, instructing him to write four words concerning the child's destiny: his sustenance, his deeds, his life span, and whether he will be wretched or blessed. When the angel has written, the spirit is inhaled into him. If one of you should perform deeds like the people of Paradise, so that only a span separates him from it, but fate has decreed otherwise, his deeds shall end like those of the people of Hell, and Hell he shall enter; and if one of you should perform deeds like the people of Hell so that only a span separates him from it, but fate has decreed otherwise, his deeds shall end like those of the people of Paradise, and Paradise he shall enter."[2]

Know that when the fashioning of the bodily frame was completed, and it was time for the spirit to be joined to the frame, just as God Almighty had permitted none to share in the kneading of Adam's clay, performing the task in His own divine person, so too He now undertook to inhale the spirit in His own divine person.

Note here the indication of a subtle truth, and the proclamation of noble good tidings. It was as if God were saying: "I am sending the spirit from the highest degree of the world of spirits to the lowest degree of the world of bodies in the protective company of My unique inhalation. For the journey is long, and both friend and enemy are plentiful along the route, and it is necessary that the spirit should not be engrossed with friend

[1]Qur'an, 15:29.
[2]Tradition recorded by Boḵārī, Moslem, Abū Dā'ūd, Termeẕī, and Ebn Māja.

and enemy at each stage and stopping place, thereby forgetting Me and being deprived of the taste of the intimacy it enjoyed in My presence. Robbers along the road are numerous, both envious enemies and jealous friends. But if the spirit is accompanied by the trace of My inhalation, it will not permit the taste of My intimacy fully to depart from the palate of its soul, nor be completely enthralled by friend and enemy at every stage.

"I shall, moreover, cause the spirit to pass through three hundred and sixty thousand worlds, both spiritual and corporeal, relating to both Kingship and Dominion, and in each of them I have placed some provision for it, and buried some treasure on its account, so that on the day when I send it to be my viceregent in the lowest, corporeal realm, it will take these provisions and treasures with it to earth. I have informed none of these hidden treasures—'I have not caused them to witness the creation of the heavens and the earth'[3]—I alone have buried them, and I alone know what I have buried, and where, and how, and how each is to be retrieved.

"I shall be at each stage the guide and helper of the spirit: I shall display all things to it, and bestow upon it all the hidden treasures that may profit it on its passage through each separate world, withholding that which will benefit it upon its journey of return to My presence. I shall show it the talismans that I have made on this path to ward off the gaze of the intruder and prevent the access of false claimants to the presence of the treasure, and teach it how to open these talismans, so that the journey of return will be easy for it. Then too I shall instruct it in all that will benefit or harm it along the way.

"It is some time since I sent forth into the world the cry of 'I am about to make a viceregent on earth';[4] friend and foe, acquaintance and stranger, are all awaiting his arrival. When I dispatch the spirit as my viceregent and bestow deputyhood upon it, it must therefore be with all manner of dignity and honor. I have thus ordered the cherubim to prostrate themselves before the spirit when it mounts the throne of viceregency. All

[3]Qur'an, 18:52.
[4]Qur'an, 2:30.

must behold the signs of dignity and honor I have bestowed upon it, and perceive thereby the magnitude of its rank."

Then the pure spirit of Adam, having passed several thousand years in successive forty-day periods of prayer in the retreat of the secluded shrine of sanctity; having been honored with the gaze of grace, in the station of immediacy; and having learned the customs and norms of viceregency, the conditions and conventions of deputyship from God, the Overlord—for unless the deputy and viceregent of a king has spent a lifetime in the king's presence being trained in the practice and customs of rule, he will not be qualified for deputyship or viceregency—then was his pure spirit seated on the unique mount of "I inhaled in him."[5]

> Intelligence ran along at his stirrup;
> Love made its way to his shade.
> The trappings on his bay mount's neck were moonlight,
> And the tress of his black standard was dark night.[6]

Clothed in a cloak of honor that was inscribed "of My spirit," it was borne through all the spiritual and corporeal domains, and at each station and stopping place, they brought forward the essence and choice part of the buried treasures that were hidden there, and sent them with it as it proceeded on its way. Finally it was seated as viceregent on the throne of the bodily frame in the kingdom of humanity, and immediately the entire exalted host, cherubim and spirit beings, fell prostrate before the throne—"and the angels prostrated themselves, all with one accord."[7] Gabriel was then appointed chancellor at Adam's court, and Michael as treasurer, and all the other angels were also given some post.

It was found desirable to lay the foundation of punishment, to hoist someone onto the scaffold, so that throughout the realms of Kingship and Dominion none should dare to claim viceregency or to oppose that of Adam. Eblīs, that arrogant, black-fortuned

[5]Qur'an, 15:29.
[6]Two lines from a poem of Jamāl al-Dīn 'Abd al-Razzāq Eṣfahānī (d. 588/1192) (*Dīvān*, ed. Vaḥīd Dastgerdī [Tehran, 1320 Š./1941], p. 2).
[7]Qur'an, 15:15.

one, who in his inquisitiveness had once made stealthy and illicit entry into Adam's frame, gazed with the eye of contempt upon the domain of his viceregency, and desired in vain to make a breach in the treasurehouse of his heart, was therefore seized on the charge of robbery and bound with the rope of wretchedness. When it was time for all the angels to prostrate themselves, Eblīs was unable to do so, for he had in reality been bound with the rope of wretchedness on the day that he entered the workshop of the unseen without permission.

It is related in a certain Tradition that when all the creatures are gathered together on the Plain of Resurrection, one of the lights of God, Almighty and Glorious, will manifest itself and all will desire to fall down in prostration. Whoever prostrated himself before God while still in the world will then enter prostration; but those who prostrated themselves before idols, worldly desires, and the passions, will be unable to do so, for their necks will have been bound with the rope of wretchedness on that day when they failed to prostrate themselves before God. That rope cannot be seen today with the outer eye; but whoever has his inner eye open will see it and not fail to sever it with the scissors of repentance and the seeking of forgiveness. For if he does not sever it today, he will be brought to the marketplace of resurrection bound in chains and fetters, and the sense of the verse "Behold the fetters on their necks, and the chains"[8] will be fulfilled.

The neck of Eblīs the cunning was then bound on that day, for he out of all the angels had acted impudently and illicitly entered the workshop of the unseen, thereby contravening the divine command: "Do not enter the dwellings of the Prophet unless it be permitted to you."[9] His neck was tied with the rope of wrath so that he was unable to prostrate himself before Adam —"And they prostrated themselves, except Eblīs, who refused and was arrogant."[10]

People imagine that his refusal and arrogance began at the

[8]Qur'an, 40:71.
[9]Qur'an, 33:53.
[10]Qur'an, 2:34.

time of prostration. It was indeed then that the outer form of his refusal and arrogance became apparent, but this was only the tree coming to fruit, for the reality of his refusal and arrogance had been sown like a seed in the soil of his wretchedness on that day when he flouted the norms of courtesy and entered the workshop of the unseen without permission. When he emerged, he was arrogant and said: "A hollow creature, incapable of self-restraint." He looked on himself with the eye of grandeur, and on the viceregent of God with the eye of contempt. That seed was nurtured with the passage of time, and bore the fruit of his refusal and arrogance on the day of prostration. Of necessity, then, they dragged him onto the scaffold of accursedness with the rope of wretchedness: "My curse is upon thee until the Day of Judgment."[11] They left him on the scaffold of chastisement, there to remain until the coming of the Hour. Rather, he will not be taken down for all eternity, to serve as warning example for all who might dare to show disrespect for God's viceregent anywhere in his realm. Whoever follows Eblīs in this earthly kingdom shall be placed with him in one rank and sent down to Hell: "Truly I shall fill Hell with thee and with all of those who follow thee."[12]

It is related that when the spirit entered the frame of Adam, it immediately explored all the domains of the body and found it to be an exceedingly gloomy and fearsome abode, founded on four contradictory principles and thus incapable of permanence. It saw it to be dark and cramped, full of several thousand insects and noisome creatures such as snakes, scorpions, and serpents, different kinds of raging beast such as lions, tigers, leopards, bears, and swine, and other animals such as donkeys, cows, horses, mules, and camels. All these were in conflict with one another, and all too were attacking the spirit, inflicting injury on it and vexing it in manifold ways. Then too, the soul turned on it in its exile, like a dog, and fell on it like a wolf.

The pure spirit that for many a millennium had been nurtured with a hundred thousand delicate cares in the proximity of the Lord of the Worlds was now struck with terror by all these perils.

[11]Qur'an, 38:78.
[12]Qur'an, 38:85.

It knew for the first time the value of the intimacy it had enjoyed in the presence of the Almighty, and realized how great was the blessing of union in which it had been constantly immersed without knowing its pleasure and true value. The fire of separation leaped up in its soul, and the smoke of exile rose up to its brain. It exclaimed:

> Yesterday, wine, pleasure, and the idol's face;
> Today, sorrow, exile, separation from her.
> O revolution of days! to you both are as one,
> So bring back yesterday, I renounce today![13]

The spirit forthwith turned its back on that abode of terror, and desired to return along the path that had brought it:

> My resolve is firm to quit this place;
> Coming was without sense; broken be the leg that brought me!

When it desired to return, it looked around for the mount of the inhalation that had brought it, for it had not come on foot, but mounted. It could not find the mount, and its heart was shattered. Then it was told: "It is this shattering of thy heart that was Our aim." Upon hearing this, its heart was straitened and it gave a deep sigh. Now it was told: "It is on account of this sigh that We have brought thee here." The steam of the sigh mounted to Adam's nose, like the smoke of a fire to the hole in the roof, and immediately he began to sneeze. Thus motion stirred in him: He opened his eye, and saw the spacious width of the world of form and witnessed the brightness of the sun. "Praise be to God," he said, and the divine address reached him, saying, "Thy Lord will have mercy on thee." [14] The sweetness of those words reached his soul and a degree of tranquillity arose within him.

But whenever he thought of the joy of proximity to God and

[13]A quatrain by Anvarī (*Dīvān*, p. 608).
[14]An allusion to the fact that it is recommended for the one who sneezes to exclaim, "Praise be to God!" and for the one who hears him to respond, "May God have mercy upon thee!" (Tradition recorded by al-Kaṭīb al-Baḡdādī.)

intimacy with Him, and recalled the spacious breadth of the world of spirits and the bounties that God had given him without intermediary, he wanted to break the cage of his bodily frame and rend his garment of water and clay.

> That captive nightingale known as the soul
> Has not the strength to shatter its cage.

In the same way that children are distracted with brightly colored objects and the noise of bells, with sweetmeats and fruit, so too Adam was distracted by being appointed teacher to the angels, by receiving their prostration, by being conducted around the heavens, by mounting the pulpit, and all the other well-known means recounted in Tradition. Thus it was hoped that the fire of his desire for the beauty of the Divine Presence might somewhat abate, that he might grow attached and accustomed to something new, and that his terror would depart from him.

Yet he proclaimed silently all the while:

> Never, O chosen idol of mine,
> Shall thy love quit my heart, nor thine image, mine eye.
> If after my death thou shouldst come seeking,
> Thou wilt find love for thee still in my rotting bones!

Then the divine address was heard: "O Adam, enter Paradise and live there in joy, eating and resting as thou desirest, and keep the company of whomever thou wilt—'O Adam, live thou and thy mate in Paradise, and eat plenteously there, as ye desire.'"[15]

Yet still Adam persisted:

> May my heart never be able to part itself from thee,
> Nor to become familiar with other than thee!
> Should it cut loose from thy love, whom might it love?
> And should it leave thy dwelling, where might it go?[16]

[15]Qur'an, 2:35.

[16]This quatrain has been attributed to Najm al-Dīn Kobrā. See Bertel's, "Chetverostishiya Sheikha Nadzhm ad-Dīna Kubra," in *Izbrannye Trudy: Sufizm i Sufiyskaya Literatura,* p. 326.

Since Adam's fear did not diminish and he formed no new attachment, Eve was created of his own self and placed beside him so that he might form intimate attachment to his own kind: "And He made thereof its pair, that he might find tranquillity therein."[17]

When Adam gazed on the beauty of Eve, he saw a ray of the beauty of God; and through his contemplation of Eve it became apparent to him that "all that is beautiful proceeds from the beauty of God," and he experienced the joy of that beauty anew.

O rose, thou art like the face of a loved one,
  And O wine, thou art as if pressed from her being.
O cruel fortune, thine enmity grows with each moment—
  Yet withal thou resemblest the friend.

Then Adam began, in accordance with this fragrant perception, to embrace his mate, and as he discovered the pleasure of that proceeding, the attribute of passion gained mastery over him, the foremost of the animal attributes and the thickest of all veils. The other animal attributes, such as taking pleasure in eating and sleeping, also overcame him; the veils were increased, and his intimate attachment to the Divine Presence was lessened. For in the measure that the human soul takes delight in animal pleasures and passions, becoming attached to them, the attachment to God that dwells in the heart will decrease.

Indeed, so attached did Adam become to Paradise and its pleasures that when the temptation of the Tree came upon him —"approach not this Tree"[18]—Eblīs was able to deceive him with a promise of the kingdom of Paradise: "Shall I guide thee to the Tree of Immortality and a kingdom that fadeth not?"[19] Adam chose immortality and the kingdom of Paradise in preference to God's pleasure, and in the extremity of his greed, at Satan's behest, he abandoned the commands of the All-compassionate One.

[17]Qur'an, 7:188.
[18]Qur'an, 2:35.
[19]Qur'an, 20:120.

The jealous wrath of God forthwith fell upon him. "O Adam, We did not create thee for the sake of carnal enjoyment and animal pleasure. 'Did ye think that We created you to no purpose, and that ye are not to be returned unto us?'[20] Now that We have left thee for half a day in Paradise and placed the veil of pleasure before thee, thou hast begun to forget Us and become preoccupied with and attached to other than Us, acting with disobedience and eating from the Tree. If We leave thee there for a whole day, We fear thou wilt forget Us entirely, exchange intimacy for estrangement, and no longer remember Us and the grace We have shown thee.

The friend that was once constant in fidelity
  And cared only to seek our pleasure,
Is now a distant stranger, and none might think
  He had ever in his life with us made acquaintance.

"O Adam, go forth from Paradise! And Eve, be parted from him! 'Get ye down from here, together!'[21] O crown, leave the head of Adam, and O precious garment, abandon his body! O houris of Paradise, beat the two-faced tambourine[22] for Adam to the tune of 'Adam rebelled against His Lord and erred.'[23] We will cast the stone of reproach against the bottle of safety; pour the oil of Adam's self-worship on the soil of abasement and servitude; and strike the blade of his intent against the rock of trial and testing."

This is the abode of reproach, the square of destruction;
  The path for gamblers risking their all.
A *qalandar* one must be, with a split hem to one's cloak,
  To pass by the peril, nimbly with cunning.[24]

[20]Qur'an, 23:116.

[21]Qur'an, 2:38. The plural form of the imperative verb in this verse refers to the descendants of Adam, present in potentiality within his loins.

[22]It appears that tambourines were often beaten to the accompaniment of taunting verses when it was desired to humiliate someone. For an example from the Saljuq period, see Rāvandī, *Rāḥat as-ṣodūr*, ed. Muḥammad Iqbāl (London, 1921), p. 161.

[23]Qur'an, 20:121.

[24]Concerning the concepts of "reproach" and *qalandar*, see p. 99 n. 18 and p. 100 n. 19.

Adam was cast forth into the abode of terror that is the world, and separated from his mate and companion:

> No friend, no companion, no mate:
>   Grievous pain, rare sorrow, happy state!

When he had wandered distraught for several days in this state and found none to aid him, he turned back to lamenting his ancient sorrow; and the teacher of the unseen world again inscribed the alphabet of his first love on the slate:

> Once more on the slate of love I have written;
>   Write thou, O idol, on the slate of enticement.
> Then we may recite, to the master of love,
>   For a few days more our love and enticement.[25]

Adam unrolled anew the carpet of lamentation and began to recite: "O Lord, we have wronged ourselves."[26] God said to him: "O Adam—

> Thou comest to Me when all else fails;
>   I am thy Beloved on the day of misfortune."

He answered: "O Lord, this distraught wandering was needed for me to know the value of Thy grace and to be truly grateful for Thy sovereignty. It was fitting that I should be humiliated and abased so that I might discern the extent of the nobility and dignity Thou hast bestowed upon me, and know what favors were conferred on this fistful of dust by Thy divine grace: how I was raised from low to high degree, honored by being created in utmost solitude, and separated from other than Thee by Thy jealous pride—'be thou Mine, and I shall be thine.'[27] Today, then, I have returned in my frailty to Thy gate of generosity, and even though my tongue of excuse is struck dumb, still I say—

> In patience I bore two, three days without Thee,
>   But hear my hundred fine, alluring excuses.

[25]Two lines from the poetry of Anvarī *(Dīvān,* p 528).
[26]Qur'an, 7:22.
[27]Part of a *ḥadīs̱ qodsī.*

Beloved, Thy grief casts me down to disaster;
Come to my aid, before I depart and I vanish!"

It is related that Adam was left for four hundred years thus lamenting and pleading, wandering and distraught, with his eye bathed in the blood of his heart. His Almighty Lord, in His splendor and glory, then addressed Adam's yearning soul, his wounded heart, saying: "I created thee from a fistful of earth, exalted thee in power and dignity above the cherubim, and caused all to envy thee and fall in prostration before thee. I exposed My glorious presence to the reproach of 'Wilt Thou make upon earth one who shall cause corruption and bloodshed?'[28] and on account of thy friendship made an enemy of 'Azāzīl.[29] I mounted him on the scaffold of accursedness before thy throne of viceregency, and because of his refusal to prostrate himself before thee even once, I made his seven hundred thousand years of prostration before Me like scattered dust, and with the blow of 'depart from here'[30] drove him forth from My proximity.

"Yet thou hast been ungrateful for all these blessings, ignored My claims upon thee and not known thine own true worth. Thou hast taken thine enemy to be thy friend, looked upon thy friend as thine enemy, and made us both the subject of talk among friend and foe alike. When the might of Our wrath strikes out in accordance with 'if ye are ungrateful, truly My chastisement is severe,'[31] thou shouldst receive the first blow with patience, without even wrinkling thy brow—'Patience, when the first blow falls.'"

On the day when thy fortune suffers decline,
Patience it is thou hast to display.
When evil enters the account, it's all for the good;
No man's foot in the stirrup may constantly stay.

But Adam persisted and again hoisted the banner of frailty, and with the pen of pleading inscribed the form of excuse on the

[28]Qur'an, 2:30.
[29]'Azāzīl: the name of Eblīs before his fall from the archangelic hierarchy.
[30]Qur'an, 15:34.
[31]Qur'an, 4:7.

page of shortcoming. With heart enflamed and weeping eye, the tongue of his soul spoke thus:

Should Thou draw back Thy shade from my head,
My wails of lament will start once again.
Should Thou reject and drive me from Thee
I'll be like one sleeping in the realm of the waking.[32]

"I confess that we are all frail, and Thou alone art mighty; that we all fade and pass away, and Thou alone remainest; that we are all helpless, and Thou alone art our helper; that we are all friendless, and Thou alone art our friend. Cast not down that which Thou hast raised up; break not that which Thou hast fashioned; humiliate not that which Thou hast ennobled; cause not grief to that which Thou hast nurtured in joy. Thou raised us up; sustain us, then, and abandon us not to ourselves. Forgive us for this rashness, for Thou planted this seed, and Thou moulded this clay."

If the fruit be a thorn, Thou sowed the seed;
Or if the garment be silk, Thou sewed the cloth.

When Adam's pleadings exceeded all bounds and his words reached this extremity, the auspicious sun of "Adam received words from his Lord and He turned to him in forgiveness"[33] rose over the horizon, and the true morning of auspicious union dawned after the dark night of sinister separation. Divine grace addressed Adam in his servitude, saying:

Return, and be more than once thou wert;
What thou wert not before, be now.
In time of war thou wert beloved, an equal to the world;
See what shall now be thy rank, in time of peace!

"That which is past, is past, and amity is restored between us." He commanded that the herald of "God has chosen Adam"[34]

[32]A quatrain written in Rāzī dialect, i.e., the dialect of Dāya's native city, Ray. Since few examples of this dialect are extant and it cannot be reconstructed in its totality, the translation—particularly of the second line—is tentative.
[33]Qur'an, 2:37.
[34]Qur'an, 3:33.

should supplant the cry of "Adam rebelled against his Lord and erred,"[35] and the worlds of Kingship and Dominion resounded with the declaration: "Then did his Lord choose him; he repented and was guided aright."[36]

God's generosity sought excuse for Adam's crime from both friend and foe, saying, " 'he forgot; We found in him no deliberate intent,'[37] so draw in henceforth, all of you, the tongue of condemnation, place the seal of courtesy on the lip of silence, and wipe the rust of denial from the face of the mirror."

The beloved has been reconciled; 'tis thus it should be!
Her infidelity has turned to faith; 'tis thus it should be![38]

Praise be to God for affliction;
To the vile it brings pain, but to the noble, redemption!

"What meant these various workings of Our will? Only that We were training Adam in the task of viceregency and bringing to perfection the point of his love through affliction. 'Trial is appointed over the prophets, and then the saints; and the trial is in proportion to the rank of each.' "[39]

May God's peace and blessings be upon Moḥammad and his family.

[35]Qur'an, 20:121.
[36]Qur'an, 20:122.
[37]Qur'an, 20:114.
[38]A line from a poem by Sanā'ī (*Dīvān*, ed. Modarres Rażavī [Tehran, 1320 Š./1941], p. 612).
[39]This quotation is probably intended as a Tradition, although I have not been able to identify it positively as such.

Third Part:

Concerning the Life of Man and Containing Twenty Chapters, the Number Twenty Being Chosen Because of the Blessing Inherent in These Words of God Almighty: "If There Be Twenty Patient Ones from among You, They Shall Conquer Two Hundred"[1]

[1]Qur'an, 8:65.

First Chapter:
On the Veils That Cover the Human Spirit as a Result of Attachment to the Bodily Frame, and the Tribulations That Spring Therefrom

God Almighty said: "By the declining day! Truly man is in a state of loss, except those who believe and perform good deeds."[2]

The Prophet, upon whom be God's peace and blessings, said: "God has seventy thousand veils of light and darkness."[3]

Know that when the spirit of man was taken from the intimate proximity of the Lord of the Worlds and attached to the bodily frame, the dark abode of the elements and the terror-filled realm of this world, it was caused to traverse all the worlds of Kingship and Dominion. It had bestowed on it the choice essence of each world to accompany it as it proceeded, and was given, too, awareness of all that remained behind in each world, whether beneficial or harmful, that it might attract benefit and repel harm, for the human spirit is inherently disposed to attract benefit and repel harm. When it had traversed several thousand different worlds, both spiritual and corporeal, and finally become attached to the bodily frame, there had come into being seventy thousand veils of light and darkness. For its sight of each object in the multiple worlds of creation, although later a source of perfection, now had the effect of a veil; and the sum of these veils robbed it of the contemplation of the worlds of Dominion, the observation of the beauty of the unity of the Essence, the taste of direct discourse with God and the nobility of nearness unto Him. From the supreme zenith of nearness it fell to the lowest nadir of nature.

I was content with thee; fate disapproved.
    I was happy with thee; destiny dissented.

We spited the envious, and our night passed
    In discourse fragrant like wine-mingled musk.

[2]Qur'an, 103:1-3.
[3]Similar tradition recorded by Moslem, Ebn Māja, and Ebn Hanbal.

But when morning dawned, it sundered our union;
Remains any joy untarnished by fate?[4]

Within a few brief days after being joined to the frame, the pure spirit that for many millennia had been ennobled with untrammeled nearness in utter exclusion of all other became separated by so many veils that it totally forgot those blessings: "They forgot God, and He forgot them."[5] Now, however much it reflects, it can recall nothing of that world; but if it were not for the sinister effect of those veils, it would not be so forgetful, exchanging the intimate familiarity once enjoyed for the solitude of its present state and the abandonment of the true beloved.

Were we not parted from those that we love
The fates could never lay hold of our souls.

The name of man *(ensān)* is derived from that intimate familiarity *(ons)* which he once enjoyed in the divine presence. It has been said that "Man is called man because he is an intimate *(anīs)* of God." When God Almighty refers to man's past, He speaks of him as *ensān:* "Has there come to man *(ensān)* a period in time when he was a thing unmentioned?"[6]—when he was, that is to say, in the enclosed shrine of sanctity and had not come into this world. God also says: "We created man in the fairest of forms,"[7] that is, in the world of spirits.

When he reached this world and forgot that intimate familiarity, he received another name in keeping with that forgetfulness, and it was mostly by this name that God now addressed him: "O men *(nāso)!*"[8] that is, "O forgetful one *(nāsen)!*" in the hope that he might then recall the days of his intimacy. It has also been said that "men are called men *(nāso)* because they are forgetful *(nāsen)* of God." It was because of man's forgetfulness that the Prophet, upon whom be God's peace and blessings, was

[4]These two lines of Arabic verse have been attributed to Moslem b. al-Walīd (known by the sobriquet of Ṣarī' al-Ḡawānī).
[5]Qur'an, 9:68.
[6]Qur'an, 76:1.
[7]Qur'an, 95:5.
[8]A form of address occurring many times in the Qur'an (e.g., 10:57, 10:108, 22:1).

commanded, "Remind them of the days of God";[9] that is, "Remind those who are preoccupied with the life of this world of the days of God Almighty, when they were in the shade of His presence and the station of nearness; then love and affection may stir in their hearts and they will aspire to return to their original abode and true homeland—'that haply they might remember,'[10] 'that haply they might return.'"[11] If love for the true homeland stirs in the heart, it is the very essence of faith, for "love of the homeland is a part of faith."[12]

If man aspires to return by the path whence he came, he has reached the degree of certainty; if he attains his original homeland, he has reached the station of beneficence;[13] if he passes beyond that homeland, he has reached the limit of the threshold of gnosis; if he does not tarry there and instead enters the forecourt of the palace of union, he has reached the rank of direct vision; and as for what lies beyond, it is outside the boundaries of speech and the realm of description.

But if that love does not stir and man does not aspire to return, and he instead gives his heart to the world, it is a sign of lack of faith: "But he inclined to the world and followed his passions; and his likeness is that of a dog."[14] Whoever remains within the veils and does not yearn to remove them is doomed to eternal loss: "By the declining day! Truly man is in a state of loss."[15] God swears an oath in these verses that the human spirit, because of its attachment to the bodily frame, inevitably suffers the calamities of loss, and that only those are exempt who, by means of faith and good deeds, deliver the spirit from such misfortune and from the veils to which the bodily attributes give rise, thus enabling the spirit to return to its primal abode.

[9]Qur'an, 14:5.
[10]A phrase concluding seven verses of the Qur'an (2:221, 14:25, 28:43, 28:46, 28:51, 39:27, 44:58).
[11]A phrase concluding eight verses of the Qur'an (3:72, 7:168, 7:174, 30:41, 32:21, 43:28, 43:48, 46:27).
[12]Tradition; see p. 89, n. 42.
[13]Beneficence *(eḥsān):* the spiritual station described by the Prophet as "worshipping God as if thou saw Him; for if thou seest Him not, verily He seeth thee" (Tradition recorded by Moslem). See also below, pp. 294 and 298.
[14]Qur'an, 7:176.
[15]Qur'an, 103:1-2.

The attachment of the human spirit to the frame and the calamities that arise therefrom may be compared to the sowing of a seed. If man sows a seed and nurtures it, it will increase a hundred or seven hundredfold, and even if he does not sow it, he can benefit from it in some way. But if he sows the seed in the ground and then fails to nurture it, the property of soil is such that it will cause the seed to decay and negate its inherent usefulness. Now the seed of the human spirit, before being sown in the soil of the frame, was given the capacity for hearing the word of God, as is evidenced by the covenant of "Am I not your Lord?"[16] when man showed himself able to give positive answer. The sowing of this seed took place in order that the vision, speech, and hearing of man might increase a hundred or seven hundredfold; but if the seed be not watered with faith and nurtured with good deeds, it will suffer loss and decrease, and its powers of true vision, hearing, and speech will be lost. Only when watered with faith and nurtured with good deeds will the seed prove fertile and strive upward from the soil of unredeemed humanity to the world of God's servitude, escape the abasement of loss, and, in proportion to the aid and nourishment received, attain the high degrees of salvation that are the gardens of Paradise.

If, by virtue of lowly aspiration and foolish disposition, it contents itself with being mere foliage on the tree and does not seek to become fruit, it will join the people of Paradise with its different degrees—"most of the people of Paradise are fools."[17] But if it reaches the station of fruit, which is the rank of gnosis, then it will join the People of God and His Elect. And if—God forbid—the seed of the spirit is not watered with faith and nurtured with good deeds, it will rot in the soil of unredeemed humanity and take to itself the nature of earth, joining the category of "but he inclined to the world and followed his passions."[18] Then will man be in a state of eternal loss, "abiding therein eternally."[19]

[16]Qur'an, 7:171. Concerning the primordial covenant, see p. 35, n. 7.

[17]Part of a Tradition the remainder of which states that "most of the people of Hellfire are women" (Forūzānfar, *Aḥādīs̱-e Mas̱navī*, p. 103).

[18]Qur'an, 7:175.

[19]A phrase occurring twelve times in the Qur'an.

When a child first enters existence, the veils of his vision are not firmly fastened, for he has but recently emerged from the Divine Presence, and the taste of intimacy lingers on in him. As soon as he leaves the womb of his mother, he begins to weep in the pain of separation from the celestial world, and whenever longing overcomes him, he laments and complains, as if his afflicted heart and desolate soul were saying to God, the possessor of glory:

The heart on which Thou gazed is still struck by grief;
On account of Thy love, it still moans and laments.
The fire in my heart still blazes strong;
The tears from my eye still pour down.[20]

Each moment the child is charmed and distracted with some different object suited to the vision of his senses and attractive to his nature, so that he forgets the other world and forms attachments to this one. But when he is alone again, he will dream of the world he left behind, like the elephant remembering India, and resume his weeping and lamentation. This occurs most frequently at night, for during the day his gaze is distracted with sense objects, whereas at night such distraction decreases, and weeping and lamentation correspondingly increase.

Night has come, and I turn back to my grief,
And my eye, as wonted, turns back to its weeping.
My heart's blood pours down from each eyelash—
A spit, with a piece of my liver impaled on its tip.[21]

The affectionate mother then again puts her breast to the mouth of the child; the sweet taste of her milk reaches his palate and he gradually becomes attached to it, forgetting his original attachment. Indeed, until reaching maturity, the child is constantly occupied in forming attachments to the world of the senses and forgetting the world of the unseen.[22] It is for this rea-

[20] A quatrain from Anvarī (*Dīvān*, p. 610).

[21] This quatrain has been attributed to Abū Sa'īd b. Abu'l-Ḵeyr.

[22] Dāya's great contemporary, Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī (d. 672/1273) expounds in his *Fīhe mā fīh*, p. 186, a similar concept of gradual detachment from the unseen: "Man's growth from infancy until maturity is made possible only by neglect [of the unseen]; otherwise he would never develop and grow."

son that the young of all other species are reared in a brief space of time, soon learning how to provide for themselves, attaining the perfection of the species to which they belong, gaining in strength and completing their bodily development. But the child of man takes fifteen years to reach maturity, and forty to attain perfection. Time must elapse before he can come to provide for himself, for he is intimately acquainted with another world and has tasted the pleasure of its modes of being, and his soul is burdened by separation therefrom. He cannot acquaint himself with this world or become habituated to it until gradually, over a long period, he dissociates himself from the world above and accustoms himself to the world below; until he forgets the pleasure of the modes of the unseen and perceives the pleasure of the modes of the senses. Only then will he become entirely of this world, for as long as he is in a two-hued world of the unseen and seen, his growth will be slight and he will not attain perfection. Once he has completely forgotten the other world, he will concoct innumerable tricks and stratagems for attracting profit and repelling harm, such as no animal or demon could invent. Animals are unaware of another world; they are completely of this world and devote all their attention to their immediate needs. With extreme concupiscence, they busy themselves in extracting the utmost sensual pleasure, and are soon nurtured to attain the perfection of their species.

> The gazelle eats its morsel in trembling and fear;
> Hence the absence of flesh on its tail and its flank.

To make our meaning clear: When the human spirit is made to traverse the worlds spiritual and corporeal, of Kingship and Dominion, becomes attached to the bodily frame, and begins to employ the instrument of the body for various acts, then each breath that issues from it gives rise to the veils of remoteness and darkness, and deprives the spirit of its acquaintance with the world of the unseen, so that it becomes entirely unaware thereof. Sometimes a thousand heralds will tell it that it once inhabited a different world, but it will not accept or believe in their words.

A certain group, however, namely those upon whom the gaze

of God's grace has fallen, will preserve within them the trace of that intimate familiarity they once enjoyed in the presence of the Almighty. Even though they do not know of themselves that they once inhabited a different world, nonetheless when a truth-speaking herald so informs them, the trace left in them by the light of his truthfulness will join the trace of that intimate familiarity preserved within them. The two will recognize and embrace each other, for they share the same homeland; the effect of their affinity and their coming together will be transmitted to the heart, and all will then admit the truth.

In short, whoever bears within him a trace of that intimate familiarity bears also the seed of faith, and sooner or later he will be able to have faith. But whoever has severed all connection with that familiarity and has closed the door of his heart to the world of the unseen, for him faith will be impossible: "Equal it is to them if thou warnest them or dost not warn them; they will not believe. God has sealed their hearts and their hearing, and over their sights is a cover, and for them there shall be a mighty chastisement."[23]

There are some of God's bondsmen from before whose eyes He lifts up the veil so that they can perceive all the stations, spiritual and corporeal, through which they have passed. It happens, too, that some are protected from forgetfulness at the time when the spirit is attached to the bodily frame; this is in order to demonstrate the power of God and to establish His proof. Those thus protected remember and can vividly see all the stations they traverse from the beginning of their attachment to the bodily frame: the different realms of creation through which they pass, their arrival in the loins of their fathers, their entry into the wombs of their mothers, and finally their coming into this world.

Thus Shaikh Moḥammad Kūf,[24] may God have mercy upon him, used to relate in Nishapur that he had once been in the presence of Shaikh 'Alī Mo'aẕẕen when he said: "I remember that I was

[23]Qur'an, 2:6–7.

[24]It appears that Shaikh Moḥammad Kūf was a contemporary of Dāya and known to him. He is also mentioned in *Toḥfat al-barara,* the major but as yet unpublished work of Dāya's preceptor, Majd al-Dīn Bağdādī.

coming from the world of nearness to God into this world. My spirit was being passed through the heavens, and when I arrived at each heaven, its inhabitants would weep over me, saying, 'Another wretch is being dispatched from the station of nearness to the world of remoteness; brought down from highest to lowest; carried from the spacious expanse of sanctity's enclosure to the world's constricted abode!' They were much sorrowed and pitied me greatly, but the address of the Almighty reached them, saying, 'Do not imagine that I am sending him to that world to abase him. By Our own divine might, if during his life in that world he once fills the bucket of an old woman at a well, it will be better for him than a hundred thousand years of proclaiming Our exaltation in the enclosure of sanctity. Draw over your heads the cloak of 'each party is happy with what it possesses,'[25] and leave My divine work to Me. 'Truly I know that which ye know not.'"[26]

Peace be upon Moḥammad and all his family.

[25]Qur'an, 23:54.
[26]Qur'an, 2:30.

Second Chapter:
On the Wise Purpose for Attachment of the Spirit to the Frame and the Benefits That Flow Therefrom

God Almighty said: "I created jinn and men only that they might worship Me," that is, "know Me."[1]

The Prophet, upon whom be God's blessings and peace, said: "This world is the tillage for the hereafter."[2]

Know that as the soil of the world was made fitting to have sown and nurtured in it the seeds of different kinds of grain and fruit, so that one might be multiplied a hundred or seven hundredfold—"like a grain from which grew seven ears; in each ear were a hundred grains; and God gives increase to whomever He wills"[3]—so too the essence of the world was made fitting to be the tillage of the hereafter, and to have sown in it the seed of good deeds, so that each might be multiplied ten, a hundred, or seven hundredfold—"A good deed is multiplied by ten like unto it, and then seven hundred times."[4] Indeed, it is possible that a yield may be gathered without limit or reckoning, for "the patient receive their reward in full measure, beyond all reckoning."[5]

Similarly, the soil of the human frame was prepared in such a way that when the seed of spirituality was sown in it by the husbandry of the divine inhalation, and nurtured with the sunlight of God's grace and watered with His law, there should grow from it the fruits of nearness and knowledge in such abundant

[1]Qur'an, 51:56. The gloss of "worship Me" as "know Me" is found in almost all Sufi commentaries. Dāya himself, in commenting on this verse, says: "'I created jinn and men only that they might worship Me' because the pearl of knowledge of Me is contained within the shell of worship of Me. Knowledge of Me is of two kinds: knowledge of My attributes of beauty and knowledge of My attributes of splendor. Each of these two has a particular manifestation, and worship embraces both manifestations" (passage quoted in Ḥaqqī, *Rūḥ al-bayān*, IX, pp. 178–179).

[2]Tradition; see p. 93, n. 60.

[3]Qur'an, 2:261.

[4]Apparently a Tradition, close in wording to Qur'an, 6:61 ("Whoever performs a good deed shall receive tenfold reward").

[5]Qur'an, 39:10.

measure that no creature might encompass them with his imagination, understanding, or intellect, nor speech penetrate their profundity, beyond that which God Himself said: "I have prepared for My righteous servants that which no eye has seen, nor ear has heard, nor has crossed the heart of any man."[6]

When it is desired to cultivate a seed in the world of form to reach perfection as fruit, countless different causes and instruments must be present, such as the soil in which the seed is sown, the sky which gives rain and sunlight, both needed to nurture the seed, and the air, which establishes an equilibrium between the coldness of the soil and the warmth of the sun. Then too men are required to sow the seed, and a pair of beasts to pull the plough; iron, wood, and rope to make the plough; and a blacksmith, carpenter, and ropemaker to produce each of these. Numerous other people must in turn be constantly at work so that these three can perform their tasks: bakers and butchers, grocers and cooks, spinners and weavers, washers and sewers, all of these requiring still others to busy themselves in order that they may devote themselves to their tasks: millers and muleteers, shepherds and merchants, horse dealers and camel drivers. Each group of men thus stands in need of the others in order to perform its functions. Finally, a just and capable monarch is required to maintain equilibrium among his people, to repel evil and prevent the oppression of the weak by the strong, and to protect and preserve his subjects so that all may busy themselves with their tasks in security and tranquillity.

Indeed, when you examine the matter with care, you see that all that the world contains—the firmaments and the stars; the heavens and the earth; the sun and the moon; simple elements and compounds; plants and animals; angels, jinn, and men; artisans, tradesmen, and merchants; scholars, heads of craft guilds, and kings; ministers, agents, and armies—all must be constantly at work for a single seed in the world of form to be sown, nurtured, and yield fruit.

When the seed of spirituality is to be cultivated, and is brought

[6]A *ḥadīs̱ qodsī,* recorded by Bok̲ārī, Moslem, Termez̲ī, Ebn Māja, and Ebn Ḥanbal.

forth from the unique granary of "of My spirit," sown in the soil of the human frame by the husbandry of "I inhaled in him,"[7] and nurtured to perfection as fruit, this being the station of knowledge, see then what numerous causes and instruments are needed for the goal to be reached. If you look to the core of the matter, you will see that this world and the hereafter, the eight paradises and seven hells and everything that lies between, all are needed for nurturing the seed so that the fruit of knowledge may ultimately attain perfection. Thus God said: "I created jinn and men only that they might worship Me"—that is, "know me."[8]

The spirit, therefore, even though it experienced the taste of nearness to God in the world of spirits, had a degree of knowledge appropriate to that world, and enjoyed there discourse with God and the vision and contemplation of Him, was nonetheless destined to attain the perfection of these stations and the completion of these felicities through attachment to the frame and being nurtured there. For the instruments and causes, external and internal, needed for the perfection of knowledge were to be found only in the frame: the soul, heart, spirit, mystery, and arcane;[9] inner means of perception and other faculties relating to the human state; and the five outer senses—hearing, sight, smell, taste, and touch.

The spirit had possessed in the world of the unseen a light whereby it perceived the universals of that world, and it had enjoyed there a degree of intelligence consonant with its station. But it did not have the other means of perception, relating to both the unseen and the seen, that make it possible to perceive the universals and particulars of both worlds. Those means were to be had only here, in the bodily frame, and it was through them and other instruments that the spirit would become fit for true knowledge—namely, knowledge of God's essence and attributes. For God said, "and I desired to be known."[10]

[7]Qur'an, 15:29.
[8]Qur'an, 51:56.
[9]The soul, heart, spirit, mystery, and arcane: in this pentad of "inner means of perception" *(modrekāt-e bāṭenī),* the intelligence should properly take the place of the soul, as it does in Dāya's more careful list on p. 139. The Kobravī order paid considerable attention to the morphology of man's inner being, and Kobrā

himself discusses the nature of the intellect, the spirit, the heart, and the mystery, as well as the interrelation of these four, in his major work, *Fawā'iḥ al-Ǧamāl wa Fawātiḥ al-Ǧalāl* (ed. Fritz Meier [Wiesbaden, 1957], pp. 168–174). Heart, spirit, and intelligence can all be deduced from Qur'anic texts; they are discussed by Dāya in detail in the seventh and eighth chapters of this part. As for the mystery *(serr)*, tentative and sometimes contradictory definitions are offered by earlier Sufi writers. Abū Naṣr al-Sarrāj (d. 378/988) describes it as "that which is inaccessible to the enticements of the soul; that which God has caused to remain hidden and of which He alone has awareness" *(Ketāb al-loma'*, ed. R. A. Nicholson [London & Leiden, 1914], p. 226). Al-Qošeyrī (d. 465/1074) says of the mystery: "It is most probably a subtle essence *(laṭīfa)* lodged in the bodily frame like the spirit; the Sufis regard it as being the locus of witnessing, in the same way that the spirit is the locus of love and the heart is the locus of gnosis . . . it is more subtle than the spirit, just as the spirit is nobler than the heart . . . the word 'mystery' is also applied to that which passes between man and God during spiritual states *(aḥvāl)* and is sealed and protected" *(al-Resālat al-Qošayrīya*, ed 'Abd al-Ḥalīm Maḥmūd [Cairo, 1385/1966], I, p. 251). Kobrā himself regarded the mystery as occupying the third place in man's inner perceptions, coming after the heart and the spirit, and he defined it as the place where divine power and spiritual aspiration *(hemmat)* meet and coalesce *(Fawā'iḥ al-Ǧamāl wa Fawātiḥ al-Ǧalāl*, p. 174). Faced with this multiplicity of definition, Šehāb al-Dīn Abū Ḥafṣ 'Omar al-Sohravardī (an acquaintance, as we have seen, of Dāya) suggested that the word *serr* in its Sufi sense does not occur in the Qur'an, and that the mystery cannot therefore be something independent; it is merely an attribute, either of the heart or the spirit according to circumstances *('Awāref al-ma'āref*, in the margin of *Eḥyā' 'olūm al-dīn* [Cairo, n.d.], IV, pp. 237–240). Dāya, however, was of an opposite opinion, and found a reference to both the mystery *(serr)* and the arcane *(ḵafī)* in Qur'an, 20:7: "If thou makest utterance aloud, verily He knows the secret *(serr)* and what is more hidden *(ḵafī)*." Commenting on this verse, he says: "the secret/mystery is, in the terminology of the people of realization, a subtle essence between the heart and the spirit. It is the source of the mysteries of spirituality. Now the arcane/hidden *(ḵafī)* is a subtle essence between the spirit and the divine presence; it is the locus for the descent of the lights and mysteries of dominicality. . . . The arcane is more hidden than the mystery; that is, it is more subtle, more precious, more exalted, more noble and closer to the divine presence than the mystery. It is alluded to in God's saying, 'and He taught Adam the names, all of them,' and it is the inward meaning of the Prophet's saying—peace be upon him: 'God created Adam and manifested Himself in him'" (quoted in Ḥaqqī, *Rūḥ al-bayān*, V, 367). Identifying "mystery" *(serr)* in its Sufi sense with this Qur'anic occurrence of the word, Dāya obviously concluded that the word *ḵafī* must also refer to an inner means of perception, translated by us as "arcane." He appears to be the first Sufi to use the word in this sense. 'Alā al-Dowla Semnānī expanded the fivefold schema of Dāya to a sevenfold one, adding *qāleb* (bodily frame) and *aḵfā* (super-arcane), establishing a complex series of correspondences between the seven subtle essences *(laṭā'ef)*, seven major prophets, seven layers of Qur'anic meaning, seven heavens, etc. (see Henry Corbin, *En Islam Iranien* [Paris, 1972], III, pp. 278–355). From Semnānī the concept of a sevenfold inner world of man passed into the general patrimony of Sufism. We may finally note that Corbin suggests as a translation for *serr* "surconscience" and for *ḵafī* "transconscience" *(L'homme de lumière dans le soufisme irrnien* [Paris, 1971], 163).

[10]Part of a *ḥadīṯ qodsī* previously quoted on p. 75.

Knowledge is of three kinds: rational, meditative, and visionary. Rational knowledge belongs to all men: Muslim and infidel; Christian, Jew, and Mazdean; heretic, philosopher, naturalist, and materialist. All have a share in it, for all have the intelligence in common and all are agreed on the existence of God. The difference between them relates to the attributes of divinity, not to its essence. Among the people of Islam there is also dispute concerning the attributes, while all are agreed on the essence. Thus God says: "If thou ask them, 'who created the heavens and earth?' truly they will say, 'God.'"[11] Similarly, those who worshipped idols used to say, "We worship them only that they might bring us closer to God."[12]

This kind of knowledge does not bring salvation unless the gaze of the intelligence is reinforced by the light of faith, so that prophecy is accepted and the injunctions and prohibitions of the Law are fulfilled; for it is by these means alone that the seed of the spirit may be nurtured to fruition.

Rational knowledge is dependent on the perceptions of the outer senses and the inner faculties as well as the gaze of the intelligence. The outer senses first look upon the sensible world, and then the gaze of the intelligence is exercised through use of the inner faculties. The intelligence immediately judges that the created object perceived by the outer senses has a creator, and as it progressively surveys all the species of creation, it discerns in them the precision of God's power and the excellence of His creativity. It deduces that such an act of creation can only have proceeded from one who is all-powerful, eternally living, all-wise, all-knowing, all-hearing, all-seeing, everlasting, and endowed with speech and will.[13] Thus, he whose gaze is more

[11]Qur'an, 31:25, 39:38.
[12]Qur'an, 39:3.
[13]Of the attributes listed here, "everlasting" *(bāqī)* is designated by Aš'arī *kalām* as *ṣefa salbīya* (a "negative attribute"), i.e., one that negates a certain defect or imperfection; while the remaining eight form the category of the *ṣefāt al-ma'ānī* or the *ṣefāt al-kamāl* ("attributes of meaning or perfection"); they are neither identical with the essence nor hypostatically separate from it. See Sa'd al-Dīn Taftāzānī, *Šarḥ al-'aqā'ed* (Delhi, n.d.), pp. 37 ff., and Ali Arslan Aydin, *Islam İnançlari ve Felsefesi* (Ankara, 1964), p. 181. This listing of attributes by Dāya, despite the intrusion of "everlasting" among the *ṣefāt al-kamāl*, may be regarded as one of the several proofs of his Aš'arī affiliation contained in this work. See too p. 315, n. 17 and p. 483, n. 4.

direct and whose intelligence more lucid, whose veils are fewer and whose acts of self-denial and meditation more abundant—he it is who will be able to deduce more from the different classes of creation, and whose proofs and evidences for the divine unity will be clearer.

But know that it is not for the sake of this kind of knowledge that the spirit was sent to join the frame: For this kind consists of the search for proofs, and much dispute arises on the basis of proofs—the unbelievers, the heretics and the philosophers, all who hold to unbelief, hold to it by virtue of a proof. When proofs are contradictory, there is no reason to accept one rather than another except preference. If one happens to accord preference to the side of truth, then the result is no more than the affirmation of the Creator by means of rational proofs. The spirit left this stage in the knowledge of God behind it even before its attachment to the frame, for what it today hears by way of rational proof, it then heard directly from God Himself. For He said, "Am I not your Lord?" and the spirit answered, "Indeed Thou art."[14] "Hearing is not the same as seeing,"[15] and there would have been no need for the spirit to come to this plane simply in order to exchange seeing for hearing, and vision for statement. This is what is referred to in the expression: "Here is the foot; why look for the footprint?"[16]

As for meditative knowledge, it belongs to the elect among men, and is attained in the following way: When the seed of the spirit, sown in the soil of the human state, is nurtured on the Path with the ordinances of the Law—as shall be explained, God willing, in the chapter on the adornment of the spirit—and when the human tree reaches the stage of fruit giving, then the property that was inherent in the seed will become apparent in the fruit in multiple form, in addition to things not found in the seed. Thus from each apricot seed that is planted will grow verdure, the trunk of a tree and its branches, leaves, blossom, unripe and ripe fruit. Only one seed will have been planted, but it will yield

[14]Qur'an, 7:71.
[15]A Tradition recorded by Ebn Ḥanbal.
[16]A conjectural translation of this proverb, which is not to be found in any of the standard collections of Persian proverbs. The Turkish translator of the *Merṣād* omitted it in his version, presumably because of its obscurity.

a thousand exactly like itself, in addition to the skin of the apricot, the leaves, branches, roots, and trunk of the tree that were not originally present in the seed. Each of these will have a property absent in the others: Thus the skin of the fruit will have a property lacking in the kernel, and the kernel a property lacking in the skin. The seed profits only the mouth, but the tree and its fruit profit not only the mouth, in superior measure, but also the eye, for "verdure gives increase to sight."[17] The sense of smell is likewise profited by the pleasing perfume of its blossom; the hand, by its branch, from which a stick may be fashioned; and the foot, by its wood, from which clogs may be made. The tree contains many other qualities, properties, uses, and benefits which were not present in the seed except in potentiality.

In the same way, the tree of the body has grown from the seed of the spirit, and put forth in one direction the branches of the soul and its attributes, and in another direction those of the heart and its attributes. The leaves of the outer senses appear; the roots of the inner faculties reach down into the soil; the blossom of the mystery[18] unfolds; the unripe fruit of the arcane[19] springs forth; and the mature fruit of knowledge becomes manifest. Thus the spirit, when it reaches the station of fruithood, has acquired different tools and instruments that it did not previously possess. Among these are the outer and inner means of perception. The outer senses—sight, hearing, smell, taste, and touch—are those by means of which we perceive the manifest world, called the world of Kingship, with all its multiplicity of number. That which cannot be perceived by these five senses is called the world of Dominion, the unseen world with its numerous degrees and stages. This world is perceived by five inner means of perception: the intelligence, the heart, the mystery, the spirit, and the arcane.

In the same way that none of the five outer senses can interfere with the functioning of another, hearing being unable to perceive the visible, and sight to perceive the audible, so too none of the five inner senses can interfere with the functioning

[17]An Arabic proverb—not, however, recorded in al-Maydānī's *Majma' al-amṣāl.*
[18]See n. 9 above.
[19]See n. 9 above.

of another: the intelligence cannot perceive that which is visible to the heart, nor the heart that which is comprehended by the intelligence, for the gaze of the intelligence has a property peculiar to itself. So it is, too, with the other inner senses. Thus when those who surveyed the rationally comprehensible with the gaze of the intelligence wished to survey the world of the heart, the mystery, the spirit, and the arcane, again using their fettered intelligence in ignorance of that which the heart beholds and the other degrees of perception, inevitably their intelligence fell into the trap of philosophy and heresy.

But when the possessor of true felicity enters by the gate of "enter houses by their doors,"[20] he will nourish the seed of the spirit in accordance with the Law until all his senses attain perfection. He will then perceive, through his outer and inner senses, all the three hundred and sixty thousand realms that constitute the worlds of Kingship and Dominion. Whereas in the world of the unseen he knew only the universals of that world, he now knows both the universals and particulars of the seen and the unseen worlds. He sees every atom in each of these worlds to be a manifestation of one of the divine attributes containing within it one of God's signs; he removes the veil from the face of the manifestation, and the beauty of God's signs is displayed to him:

> In all things is a sign of His inscription,
> Showing that He is but One.[21]

This is the threshold of the world of certainty, as He said: "Thus do We show to Abraham the Dominion of the heavens and earth, that he may be among the certain."[22] Then the pure essence of God may be known in its unity, and the attributes of divinity may be contemplated with the eye of certainty. This is the station described by a certain great one when he said: "I gazed upon naught without seeing God in it."[23] Now this is a

[20]Qur'an, 2:189.
[21]A much-quoted line of the celebrated Arabic poet, Abū Esḥāq Abu'l-'Atāhīya (d. 221/836).
[22]Qur'an, 6:75.
[23]A saying of one of the earliest Sufis, Moḥammad b. Vāse' ('Aṭṭar, *Tazkerat al-owliyā*, I, p. 55).

noble station and the degree of God's chosen, but the spirit was not sent to this world as a seed merely for the sake of such knowledge, which is like mere blossom on the tree of humanity. For the elect among the elect, to whom has been vouchsafed both supreme capacity and proper training, are not left at the stage of blossom; instead they are carried on to that of true fruitfulness, this being visionary knowledge.[24] The profound reason for the creation of all beings was this knowledge, for God said: "I brought forth creation that I might be known."[25]

Visionary knowledge is like a secluded virgin dwelling in the unseen world, from whose visage no groom from among the prophets or saints has been permitted to lift the veil of dignity. She has been constantly concealed beneath the domes of honor and hidden behind the curtain of jealousy, so that the outsider's intrusive eye might not fall upon her perfect beauty, and she might be safe from the crowd's baneful gaze: "The evil eye is a reality."[26]

> Kindle, in thy might, a fire on the path to her abode,
> Lest some meddling intruder make his way down the road.
> Cover her moonlike face with her hair
> Lest every vulgar wretch see her visage so fair.[27]

The moon fell into sore trouble and affliction because the crowd's finger was pointed at it, and their luckless gaze fixed upon it. When the sun observed this, it drew over the multitude the veil of "be distant, shed light,"[28] so that if the pupil of the eye should desire rashly to gaze upon it, it would sever the head of

[24]Visionary knowledge *(ma'refat-e šohūdī): šohūd* has the literal sense of witnessing through immediate presence, and the technical sense in Sufism of "viewing all things as proofs of the divine unity; the counterpart of seeing God in all things, it is seeing God's outwardness in all things" (Jorjānī, *Ketāb al-ta'rīfāt,* p. 229). It seemed, however, convenient to translate *šohūdī,* the adjective derived from *šohūd,* as "visionary." Concerning *šohūd,* see also the seventeenth chapter of this part of the book, and n. 1 on page 294.

[25]The remaining part of the *ḥadīs̱ qodsī* quoted on p. 147.

[26]Part of a Tradition.

[27]A quatrain quoted, with some adaptation, from Sanā'ī *(Dīvān,* p. 578).

[28]"Be distant" *(dūr bāš):* an allusion to a jeweled mace, called *dūr bāš,* that was carried in front of kings to clear their path of all lesser mortals.

that gaze with the sword of the rays. Thus it remained safe from the evil eye, and while the gaze of the inquisitive visited affliction on the moon, the sun unsheathed the sword of its rays against all that could see (for the unseeing perceive naught of the sun but its warmth).

To resume: If the shaikhs have up to now fastened the veil of jealousy on the virgins of the unseen world, instead of throwing back the covering of dignity with the hand of speech, so that the beauty of knowledge has remained hidden, it was because they did not perceive in every group of men the virility of servitude, and found the generosity of high intent only in some men.

Ḥoseyn b. Manṣūr had a sister who laid claim to manly intent on the Path, and was also beautiful. She would come to Baghdad with one half of her face covered by a veil and the other half exposed. A great one came to her and asked: "Why do you not cover your face entirely?" She said: "Show me a man, that I may cover my face. In all of Baghdad there is only half a man, and that is Ḥoseyn. If it were not for him, I would leave this half uncovered also!"[29]

If then today the moon of gnosis emerges from the halo of dignity, it will be safe from the baneful gaze of all who might point at it the finger of wonder, for they themselves are so rare as to be objects of wonder. If the sun of unity, dispensing with the sword of jealousy, rises from behind the Mount Qāf of duality, it will be untroubled, for those avid watchers have set like the Sīmorḡ behind the Mount Qāf[30] of exile—"Islam began as

[29]Ḥoseyn b. Manṣūr, better known as Ḥallāj (d. 309/922), possibly the most celebrated of all the early Sufis. His theopathic utterances earned him condemnation and death, but also posthumous repute among many Sufis as a martyr of the Path. His life and teachings have been studied extensively by Louis Massignon, albeit with a certain Christological bias. See above all *La passion d'al-Hallaj* (Paris, 1922). I am not aware of any source in which the present anecdote concerning Ḥallāj's sister is to be found.

[30]The Sīmorḡ: a phoenixlike bird originating in the pre-Islamic mythology of Iran, but adapted to various symbolic purposes in Sufi expression. The most celebrated appearance of the Sīmorḡ in Sufi literature is in 'Aṭṭār's poem, *Manṭeq al-ṭeyr,* where it figures as a symbol for the Perfect or Universal Man *(ensān-e kāmel'* (see n. 52 below). Mount Qāf: the mountain on the extreme edge of the world that is the nesting ground of the Sīmorḡ, as well as the towering frame of that tenebrous region where the Water of Life is found.

a stranger and shall become again a stranger, as it began."[31] And if the secluded virgins of the unseen were to pronounce the removal of all veils, there would be none to reproach them, for those nobles who used everywhere to boast of their virility have departed for the heights: "On the heights—glory be to God—are men vanished and gone."[32]

> It is as if they were all eunuchs,
> For not one is left of their stock.

Visionary knowledge is, then, the knowledge of the elect among the elect, those who are the choice essence of all creatures and the foremost of all beings; the two realms and the two horizons are dependent upon them, and their existence is in truth the point at the center of the circle of pre- and post-eternity.

I have composed a verse in this sense:

> Before being was, there was naught but I and thou;
> Love's substance and result, together, I and thou.
> "Today and yesterday," "late and early," these are now;
> Then neither late nor early, naught but I and thou.

The essential benefit deriving from the attachment of the spirit to the frame is then the true essence of this species of knowledge. For human spirits were, like the angels, aware of the attributes of God's lordship, but there was interposed between them and the attributes, concealed behind the covering of dignity, several thousand veils of light. If a single one of these veils were to be lifted, all the angelic spirits, including Gabriel, the spirit of sanctity, would cry out: "Were I to approach a finger's breadth, I would surely be burned!"[33] Such is the property of the rays of light shed by the luminous veils. Whenever the

[31]Tradition recorded by Moslem, Termeẕī, Ebn Māja, Dāremī, and Ebn Ḥanbal.

[32]An adaptation of Qur'an, 7:46: "On the heights shall be men who know all by their marks," a verse generally understood to relate to the Day of Judgment.

[33]Words uttered by Gabriel when proclaiming his inability to accompany the Prophet beyond the Lote Tree of the Extremity (see p. 84, n. 32 above) into the most immediate presence of God at the climax of the Me'rāj. Cf. Rūmī, *Mathnawī*, ed. R. A. Nicholson (London, 1925), I, p. 66 (1. 1066).

attributes of divinity are manifested in their immediate reality, vision and visionary knowledge will result, and the figurative being of the spirit, beholding the reality of that vision, will proclaim: "The Truth has come and the false has vanished; truly the false was destined to vanish."[34] Who, then, has the capacity to partake of such knowledge?[35]

The spirit is in itself exceedingly delicate and unable to receive the reflection of the manifestation of the attributes of divinity, and the same is true of the angels. As for the animals, they were not given the fivefold inner senses—the intelligence, heart, mystery, spirit, and arcane—that they might perceive the lights of that manifestation.

Hence the limitless wisdom and boundless power of God decreed that when Adam's clay was being kneaded by the hand of His might, there should be fashioned within his inner being—that treasurehouse of the unseen world—a heart like glass, dense yet utterly translucent. This glass was then placed in the niche of his dense, dark body, and a lamp fashioned in the glass of his heart: "The lamp is in a glass."[36] This lamp is known as the mystery, and in it was inserted the wick of the arcane. Then the oil of the spirit, taken from the blessed tree of "of My spirit,"[37] not from the orient of the world of Dominion nor from the occident of the world of Kingship,[38] was poured into the glass of the heart. It was an exceedingly pure and luminous oil, for it almost gave light to the lamp even before fire had touched it: "Its oil nearly gives light, though the fire hath not touched it."[39] On account of the extreme luminosity of the oil of the spirit, the glass of the heart also attained utmost luminosity: "The glass is, as it were, a gleaming planet."[40] The reflection of the luminosity of the glass fell upon the inner space of the niche and illumined it, this

[34]Qur'an, 17:81.
[35]Compare the similar passage in the *Lama'āt* of 'Erāqī concerning the annihilating effects that follow upon the removal of the veil of the attributes (*Kollīyāt*, p. 391).
[36]Qur'an, 24:35.
[37]Qur'an, 15:29.
[38]See p. 83, n. 19.
[39]Qur'an, 24:35.
[40]Qur'an, 24:35.

illumination constituting the intelligence, while the inner space of the niche itself, having received the reflection of the glass, came to form the human faculties. The rays that penetrated through apertures from within the niche to the outside were called the five outer senses. Until these instruments and means of perception had attained perfection in this fashion, the secret of "I was a hidden treasure"[41] could not become apparent—or, to express it differently, the lamp and all that pertained to it were needed for the manifestation of God's light. Until the lamp came into being, even though the manifestation of God's ethereal fire had encompassed all the particles of creation—"Does He not encompass all things?"[42]—it was nonetheless concealed—"I was a hidden treasure."[43] For the light of that fire to manifest itself, the lamp was necessary with all that pertained to it.

In the world of spirits, the oil of spirituality was formless and incapable of receiving the luminosity of fire. In the world of animality, both niche and glass existed, but not the lamp, the oil, and the wick, and it too was therefore incapable of receiving the luminosity of fire. Therefore a union of these two worlds was fashioned, in the shape of Adam. His body was made the niche; his heart, the glass; his mystery, the lamp; his arcane, the wick; and his spirit, the oil. Then the fire of the divine light manifested itself in its immediate reality to the lamp in the niche, a mystery alluded to by the Prophet, upon whom be peace, in his saying: "God Almighty created Adam and manifested Himself in him."[44] And God Almighty and Glorious has said in explanation of this matter: "God is the light of the heavens and the earth; and the likeness of His light is a niche wherein a lamp is set; the lamp is in a glass; the glass is, as it were, a gleaming planet, lit from a blessed olive tree, neither of the orient nor of the occident; its oil nearly gives light, though

[41]Part of a *ḥadīs̱ qodsī* quoted on p. 147.
[42]Qur'an, 41:54.
[43]Part of a *ḥadīs̱ qodsī* quoted on p. 147.
[44]A Tradition of dubious authenticity.

the fire hath not touched it. Light upon light; God guides to His light whomsoever He wills."[45]

The meaning of these words is as follows. The light of the lamp is from God's light, and it falls upon the light of the oil of the spirit: "God guides to His light whomsoever He wills." There is here an indication that although everyone possesses both niche and lamp, not every lamp is lit with God's light, although lit with the light of the oil of the spirit.

The glass of everyone's heart has, however, a certain luminosity derived from the light of the spirit, which is known as the intelligence, and the reflection of that luminosity illumines the inside and outside of the niche with the human faculties and the outer senses. Thus a group of distraught and deprived wanderers whose entire trust is placed in the intelligence and the objects it perceives have come to imagine that their lamp is lit with real light. They are unaware that the light they perceive in themselves is derived from the reflection cast by the light of the oil of the spirit, and is thus only a figurative light: "Its oil nearly gives light, though the fire hath not touched it." The meaning of "nearly gives light" is that the oil desired to illumine, but failed to do so. The lamp of this group of men is extinguished by the fire of God's light, and of this they are unaware, for only he whose lamp was once lit with real light and who experienced it can be aware, so that he will be conscious of its extinction. God Almighty has made mention of these two groups, those whose lamp is lit with the reality of God's light, and those whose lamp is deprived of that light, in the following verse: "Is he who was dead, whom We brought back to life and to whom We appointed

[45]Qur'an, 24:35. It should be noted that this "anthropological" interpretation of the Light Verse is not intended by Dāya to exhaust its meaning. In his *tafsīr,* he suggests a different set of meanings for the various elements in the verse, identifying the lamp with the Footstool (see p. 84, n. 26) and the glass with the Throne (see p. 84, n. 25); the whole constitutes "a simile coined by God Almighty for the sake of mankind; each group of men, commonalty and elect, will comprehend it in accordance with its station and capacity" (quoted in Ḥaqqī, *Rūḥ al-bayān,* VI, p. 157). The "anthropological" interpretation is clearly destined for the elect. It corresponds essentially to Ġazālī's celebrated commentary upon the same verse, the *Meškāt al-anwār* (Cairo, 1343/1924); English translation, W. H. T. Gairdner, *The Niche for Lights* (London, 1924).

a light whereby he might walk among men, like he whose likeness is one in darkness, never emerging therefrom?"[46]

This, then, is the description of visionary knowledge, to the degree that it is at all capable of being confined within the fold of expression and the retreat of indication. He who knows it, knows it; and he who is ignorant of it, is ignorant of it. Whoever is living by that light will comprehend and perceive our words and be chastened thereby ("that he might warn all who live"),[47] while those who are dead to that light, even though you recite into their ear a thousand times what we have written, will be unable to hear a single word; for "Thou shalt not make the dead to hear."[48]

Know then that the reason for the attachment of the spirit to the bodily frame consists in the matters set out above. Had it not been for this attachment, the spirit could not have acquired those means of perception of the seen and unseen worlds that enable it to receive the manifestation of the attributes of divinity and to be the oil in the lamp for the knowledge of the divine essence and attributes. If a hundred thousand intelligent ones should attempt to describe the luminous and igneous nature of the lamp, all they say will be but figurative. The true description is that furnished by the wick and the oil, for both sacrifice their beings in order to experience the visionary knowledge of light and of fire.

> O candle, why smile thus vainly to thyself?
> Dost thou resemble my heart's burning in aught?
> A fire that mounts up from the soul
> Is different from one tied on by a string.[49]

What a strange mystery is this, that all these different means are needed for the oil of the spirit to be able to sacrifice its being. The wick too is but a means for the spirit to change its figurative

[46]Qur'an, 6:123.
[47]Qur'an, 36:70.
[48]Qur'an, 27:80, 30:52.
[49]By "one tied on by a string" is meant the flame at the end of a wick.

being into true being, and to make visible and manifest its own true being as fire which was invisible and hidden.

In reality, in the same way that the oil was enamored of the fire, in order to turn figurative into true being, so too the fire was enamored of the oil in order to reveal the hidden treasure. This is the mystery of "He will love them and they will love Him,"[50] and the true meaning of "I was a hidden treasure and I desired to be known."[51] All of this was the beneficial result of the attachment of the spirit to the bodily frame, that creation came to know God's pure Essence in its unity and to recognize all the divine attributes.

To know is to see; to see is to attain; to attain is to taste; to taste is to be; to be is not to be; and not to be is to be.

> No night hast thou laid eyes on Solomon;
> What knowest thou then of the birds' tongue?[52]

If the spirit had not attained its various means of perception through attachment to the bodily frame and acquired various instruments, talents, and faculties for perceiving the unseen and the seen, it would never have reached this station in the knowledge of the Unity of the Essence and the attributes of the Knower of the Unseen and Seen. Since the angels did not have the characteristics and attributes acquired by the human spirit when it was attached to the frame, they were unfit for the task of vice-regency and deputyship, unable to bear the burden of the Trust, and incapable of being a mirror for the beauty and splendor of God. Thus none would ever have discovered the treasure of "I was a hidden treasure."

[50]Qur'an, 5:57.
[51]*Ḥadīs̱ qodsī;* see p. 26, n. 8.
[52]Verse quoted from the *Seyr al-'ebād* of Sanā'ī (in *Mas̱navīhā-ye Sanā'ī,* ed. Moḥammad Taqī Modarres Rażavī [Tehran, 1348 Š./1969], p. 229). "The birds' tongue": Solomon is credited with having known the speech of the birds; cf. Qur'an, 27:16: "And He said: 'We have been taught the speech of the birds *(manṭeq al-ṭeyr).*'" Sufi *tafsīr* generally identifies the birds with "spirits that speak of truth/reality while in the body, by way of symbol and mystery" (Ḥaqqī, *Rūḥ al-bayān,* VI, 331). See too René Guénon, "La Langue des Oiseaux," in *Symboles fondamentaux de la Science sacrée* (Paris, 1962), pp. 75–79, for a suggested correlation between the birds and the angelic order.

No path led to thy dwelling; I cut out the path.
In the mirror of affliction I cast my steady gaze.
A happy and joyous life I wasted down to ruin;
None is to be blamed, for I incurred the blame.

Peace be upon our master Moḥammad and upon all his family.

Third Chapter:
Concerning the Need for Prophets, Upon Whom Be Peace, for Man's Cultivation

God Almighty said: "Those it is whom God has guided: follow then their guidance."[1]

The Prophet, upon whom be peace and blessings, said: "The prophets are leaders and the scholars are masters."[2]

Know that when God Almighty sealed the talisman of the worlds of Kingship and Dominion by wedding man's spirit to his frame, He fashioned it so strongly and closed it so firmly with different locks that no man or angel can open it by his own efforts and deliberations, however much he may try. For the talisman is sealed with the lock of seventy thousand veils of light and darkness, and if the talisman could be opened, the spirit would never remain in the prison of this world—"This world is a prison for the beliver."[3] When a monarch imprisons someone, he always closes the door of the prison so firmly that the prisoner cannot open it. God set His supreme talisman in place in his own divine person and permitted none to see it: "I did not cause them to witness the creation of the heavens and the earth, nor their own creation."[4] He possesses the true power of opening, and the key is in His command: "He has the keys of the heavens and the earth."[5] Only He may open the locks on this talisman, or one to whom He entrusts the key.

When God Almighty wished Adam's progeny to exist in the world, He first created Adam out of dust, with neither mother nor father, and then created Eve out of Adam, her father, but without mother, in order to demonstrate His power. He then entrusted to Adam and Eve as His deputies the task of creating Adam's progeny. They joined together, and He caused offspring to come forth from them.

[1]Qur'an, 6:90.
[2]A Tradition recorded by Deylamī.
[3]A Tradition recorded by Termeẕī, Ṭabarānī, and Ebn Ḥabbān.
[4]Qur'an, 18:52.
[5]Qur'an, 39:63, 42:12.

Similarly, when He wished to open the supreme talisman of all created being, to free the human spirit from confinement in the fetters of the frame and to bring it back to the world of nearness with all the benefits it had acquired on its journey, He chose in each age and epoch one from among His creatures whom He exalted over all His bondsmen and honored with the gaze of His grace:

> One day on my wretched self thou cast a gaze;
> All that I ever gained, from that gaze it came.

The seed of this felicity had been sown in the world of spirits, in the station of immediacy. The spirit won the fruit of acceptance and unhindered nearness, and hence the Prophet, upon whom be peace and blessings, said: "The spirits are armies prepared for battle."[6] In the primordial age, the spirits were arranged in four ranks, like armies drawn up in lines. The first rank was that of the spirits of the prophets, upon whom be peace, standing in the station of immediacy; the second rank was that of the spirits of the saints; the third, that of the spirits of the believers; and the fourth, that of the spirits of the unbelievers. The spirits in the first rank were nurtured in the station of immediacy with the intimate gaze of God Almighty, and thus were enabled to act as the Adam of the age in opening the talisman of the world of form. Through their guidance, all men may learn how to open the talisman—"Those it is whom God has guided; follow then their guidance."[7]

The divine intention in this verse is the following: "I have taught the prophets in My divine person, without intermediary, the science of opening talismans. For many years they received the radiant light of My gaze in the station of immediacy, and thus became worthy for the door of their hearts to be opened by the workings of My divine attraction, descending from the unseen. We taught them the secret art of the talisman in the school of 'the Compassionate One, taught the Qur'an,'[8] for 'those it is to whom We gave the Book and wisdom and prophethood.'[9] But as

[6]Tradition recorded by Boḵārī, Moslem, Abū Dā'ūd, and Ebn Ḥanbal.
[7]Qur'an, 6:90.
[8]Qur'an, 55:1–2.
[9]Qur'an, 6:89.

for those who first received the affluence of Our grace in the world of spirits from behind the veil of prophetic spirits, they cannot today approach Our presence without intermediary nor open unaided the talisman We have set. 'This is the custom of God that has been in past ages; and thou shalt find no changing in God's custom.'[10] Let them serve, then, as apprentices in the shop of the prophets and diligently observe the command of 'this is my path, the straight; follow it, then, shunning all others, for they would lead you astray from His path.'[11] 'Dost thou wish for union with the bride? Attend then to the broker.'"[12]

They must first learn the alphabet of the Law at the school of divine legislation, for each commandment of the Law is a key to one of the locks on the supreme talisman. When you faithfully fulfil a commandment in the proper manner, one of the locks enclosing the talisman will be opened and a breeze from the exhalations of divine grace will be wafted to your soul: "God sends His exhalations to you in the days of your life; will ye not receive them?"[13] Receiving them is by heeding the commands and prohibitions of the Law. Each footstep taken on the road of adherence to the Law is a means for approaching God Almighty, for traveling one stage on the path that leads back to the world whence man came: "There is naught that brings men nigh unto Me as performing that which I have made incumbent upon them."[14] When you plant your feet on this path with sincere intent, God's sustaining grace will come forth apparently to greet, but in reality to aid you: "Whosoever approaches Me a hand's breadth, I shall approach him a cubit; whoever approaches me a cubit, I shall approach him a span; whoever comes to me walking, I shall go to him running."[15]

> If thou should plant thy foot firmly on the path
> of loverhood,

[10]Qur'an, 33:62.

[11]Qur'an, 6:153.

[12]Apparently a proverb indicating the necessity of recourse to intermediaries.

[13]Tradition generally quoted with a slightly different wording ("your Lord" instead of "God"); see Forūzānfar, *Aḥādīs̱-e Mas̱navī*, p. 20.

[14]Opening part of a *ḥadīs̱ qodsī*, generally recorded with a slightly different wording. See Zeyn al-Dīn al-Ḥaddādī, *al-Etḥāfāt al-sanīya be'l-aḥādīs̱ al-qodsīya* (Cairo, 1388/1968), p. 149.

[15]Fusion of two *ḥadīs̱ qodsī*, recorded by Moslem and Ebn Ḥanbal.

> The beloved will come to thee at the first step thou takest.

Since the lock on the talisman of man's being cannot, then, be opened except with the key of the Law, know it to be truth that the Law needs such as will bring and proclaim it, these being the prophets, upon whom be God's blessings.

There are certain other aspects of the matter that are to be set forth, God willing, in the chapter concerning the need for a shaikh, where it will be shown that if there is need for a shaikh, there is even greater need for a prophet.

And God knows best concerning the truth.

Fourth Chapter:
Concerning the Abrogation of Previous Religions and the Sealing of Prophethood with Moḥammad, upon Whom Be Peace and Blessings

God Almighty said: "Moḥammad was not the father of a man from among you; rather, he was the Messenger of God and the Seal of the Prophets."[1]

The Prophet, upon whom be peace and blessings, said: "I have been granted excellence over the other prophets in six things: the earth has been made a mosque for me, with its soil declared pure; booty has been made lawful for me; I have been given victory through the inspiring of awe at the distance of a month's journey; I have been given permission to intercede; I have been sent to all mankind; and the prophets have been sealed with me."[2]

Know that God Almighty, in His uncaused grace, has severed the relation of the Prophet to Adam and his progeny, and attached him instead to the world of prophethood and messengerhood: "Moḥammad was not the father of a man from among you." Moḥammad was not of you and your world; rather he was the Messenger of God and the Seal of the Prophets. The whole world is illumined with his light; water and clay have no claim on him. Adam himself subsists through Moḥammad; do not imagine Moḥammad to be a dependent of Adam.

Think not that we are of the race of Adam,
For when Adam still was not, already then we were.
Without the distraction of *'eyn* and *šīn* and *qāf*, of body or heart,
We and Love and the Beloved, all in intimate union.[3]

[1]Qur'an, 33:40.
[2]Tradition transmitted by Moslem, Termeẕī, and Ebn Ḥanbal.
[3]*'Eyn, šin* and *qāf:* the letters that make up the word *ešq,* "love." A quatrain by Afżal al-Dīn Kāšānī *(Moṣannafāt,* II, p. 770).

Should a falcon leave the arm of its royal master to hunt its prey and alight to rest for a moment on the wall of some old woman's abode, it does not thereby become the old woman's property. However long it tarries, when it hears the drumbeat or trumpet blast, it will fly back to the arm of its royal master.[4]

When for a moment I come nigh to the candle of thy cheek,
  I surrender my soul like the moth in despair.
And on that day when this cage I must quit,
  Back to my master's arm I will fly like the falcon.

The Prophet, upon whom be peace, said: "What bond is there between me and this world? I am like a rider on a summer's day who dismounts to rest in the shade of a tree, then mounts again and departs."[5] His meaning was this: "How vast is the gulf between me and this world! I am he to whom was displayed, at the station of the Lote Tree, all that the treasury of the unseen contained, all the gems and jewels of the worlds of Kingship and Dominion, and I did not look upon them even from the corner of my eye of lofty intent—'when there covered the Lote Tree that which covered it, his eye swerved not, nor strayed.'[6] In that game of hazard, I played and lost the coin of existence, and flew through the gate of nonbeing back to the primal nest of 'or nearer.'"[7]

Our shaikh,[8] may God be pleased in him, has said:

I was a falcon flown down from on high
  To snatch some prey up to the heavens.
Yet none did I find here to share in the secret
  and I left once more by the door that I came.

And again:

On that day when union's goal is reached

[4]A figure already employed by 'Alī b. 'Os̱mān Hojvīrī (d. 465/1073?) in *Kašf al-maḥjūb* (Samarkand, 1330/1912), p. 12.
[5]Tradition recorded by Termeẕī and Ebn Māja.
[6]Qur'an, 53:16.
[7]Qur'an, 53:9.
[8]I.e., Majd al-Dīn Bağdādī, concerning whom see Introduction, pp. 9–10.

And the bird flies forth from its cage,
The spirit shall hear the king's clarion call, "Return!"[9]
and fly back to the royal master's arm.

The Prophet, upon whom be peace, further intends in the tradition just quoted: "I severed my connection with this world and the hereafter and all eight paradises on that day when I fashioned this genealogy, that 'I am of God.'[10] All ties that related me to the created state were sundered and there remained only my line of descent from God. 'All parentage and descent shall be severed, except my parentage and descent.'[11] And to others God says: 'On that day no parentage shall there be between them, nor shall they be asked concerning it.'[12]

"I have moreover borne off the contested ball of primacy in every field. With respect to the primordial nature of man, I was the first shoot to grow on that tree, for 'the first that God created was my light.'[13] I will be the first, too, to emerge from the dust on the Plain of Resurrection, like a pearl from its shell—I shall be the first yielded up by the earth on the Day of Resurrection.'[14] And if you seek in the station of intercession, you will see that I am the first to succor with my intercession those submerged in the sea of their sins—'I am the first intercessor, and the first to be caused to intercede.'[15] If you speak of primacy and leadership on the bridge of Ṣerāṭ, know that I shall be the first to place my foot on that sharp, narrow path—'I shall be the first to cross the Ṣerāṭ.'[16] If you wish for the one who shall occupy the foremost place in Paradise, know that I shall be the first for whom the gates of Paradise are opened so that I may behold what lies within—'I am the first for whom the gates of Paradise shall be opened.'[17] If you look for the leader of all lovers, the paragon of

[9]"Return!" *(erje'ī)*: taken from Qur'an, 59:27: "Return unto thy Lord (O tranquil soul) well-pleased and well-pleasing."
[10]Beginning of a Tradition that continues "and the believers are of me." See above, p. 63.
[11]Tradition.
[12]Qur'an, 23:102.
[13]Tradition previously quoted on p. 63.
[14]Tradition recorded by Ebn Ḥanbal.
[15]Part of a Tradition recorded by Moslem and Dāremī.
[16]Tradition recorded by Nasā'ī.
[17]Tradition recorded by Dāremī.

devotees, know that I am the first devoted lover to gain the auspicious fortune of union with the Beloved—'I am the first to whom the Lord manifested Himself.'[18] How strange, that all of this should be mine, while my own self is lost to me—'as for I, I speak not of I.' "

When that moonlike visage appears, who am I that I
 might be I?
 For once without self, with her I am then happy.
If I seem to have substance, know that it is her,
 And if she seems to have shadow, know that it is me.[19]

That which you have heard concerning the Prophet, upon whom be peace and blessings, having no shadow, is true for two reasons: first because the Prophet was, from one point of view, the sun—"a summoner to God, with His permission, and a light-giving lamp"[20]—and the sun has no shadow; and second because he was, from a different point of view, the monarch of religion, and the monarch is the shadow of God—"the monarch is God's shadow upon earth"[21]—and a shadow has no shadow. Insofar as he was concerned with men, he was a light-bestowing sun, and the first and the last of mankind were created from his light. When he turned to the Almighty Presence, he became the shadow thereof, so that those wanderers in the wilderness of misguidance who wished to take refuge in God might find shelter in obedience to his auspicious person. "Whoever obeys the Prophet obeys God."[22] And whenever he turned to himself, he fled from himself and took refuge in God's shadow—"I have a time with God which neither cherub nor prophetic messenger can attain."[23]

For a few days like a shadow I pursued him,
 Content with his shadow for it was *his* shadow.

[18]Tradition of dubious authenticity.
[19]Quoted from a poem of Sanā'ī *(Dīvān,* p. 678).
[20]Qur'an, 33:46.
[21]An alleged Tradition, previously quoted on p. 49. See also p. 49, n. 32.
[22]Qur'an, 4:79.
[23]A Tradition much beloved of Sufi authors; see Forūzānfar, *Aḥādīs̱-e Mas̱navī,* p. 39.

Today it is as plain to me as the sun
  That no shadow will he cast over my strivings.[24]

Even though the Prophet was a sun for all mankind, he was nurtured by God's shadow: "I am lodged in my Lord's presence"; he ate from the spread of "He feeds me"; and he drank from the goblet of "He gives me to drink."[25]

Jamāl al-Dīn 'Abd al-Razzāq says:

Thy food, "I am lodged in my Lord's presence,"
  Thy sleep, "my heart slumbers not."
The twin realms lie beneath thy feet;
  Thou has passed the limit of "two bowstrings."
The people of the world are the dust of thy feet,
  The sons of Adam stand beneath thy banner.
Peacock-like angels are thy messengers,
  The leaders of the cherubim are thy devotees.
No acts of worship can we offer for sale;
  From us, naught but sin, and from thee, intercession.[26]

Even though each of the prophets, upon whom be peace and blessings, was the leader of his people's caravan—"those are Our messengers, some of whom We have caused to excel others"[27]—and all were chosen by God, some enjoying preference over others, so that they might each guide a people along the path of religion through the gate of certainty to the Plain of Resurrection, nonetheless the Prophet Moḥammad was the caravan leader who first stepped forth from the concealment of non-being and led the entire caravan of creation out onto the plain of being—"We are the last and the foremost."[28] And when it is time for the caravan to return, he who was once the vanguard shall then bring up the rear: "The prophets have been sealed with me."

[24]Quoted from a poem of Anvarī *(Dīvān,* p. 601).
[25]These three phrases taken together form a Tradition recorded by Bok̲ārī, Moslem, and Ebn Ḥanbal.
[26]Although attributed here to Jamāl al-Dīn 'Abd al-Razzāq Eṣfahānī, this poem is not to be found in his printed *Dīvān.*
[27]Qur'an, 2:253.
[28]Tradition recorded by Bok̲ārī, Moslem, Nasā'ī, and Dāremī.

The Prophet, upon whom be peace and blessings, says: "'I have been granted excellence over the other prophets in six things.'[29] The first is that for each prophet a certain mosque was appointed wherein he might pray, all other places being deemed unfit. When my turn came, the entire surface of the earth was made a mosque for me, so that I and my people may pray wherever we desire."

What meaning is contained in this distinction? A mosque is a place of prostration, and the length and breadth of the realm of the earlier prophets had been such that they were able to sanctify only a single mosque with the alchemy of the light of prophethood, and could not transform the soil of this world into the celestial paradise. Then too, they each nurtured beneath the wing of their prophethood only those few individuals who constituted their community, and each of them was assigned to a single people.

Moreover, the effectiveness of the alchemy of their prophethood had not attained that state of perfection which would have made licit and pure the impure property of the unbelievers captured as booty. In addition, no prophet before Moḥammad had been fully delivered from the veil of the self in order then to devote himself to intercession for others; indeed, each of them will be constantly proclaiming his selfhood on the Day of Resurrection. Furthermore, the power and might of each of the prophets had been such that only when they confronted an enemy were they able to repel him, but when the enemy receded they were unable to rout him. Finally, the strength of the prophethood of each was such that although in his own lifetime he led his own people, the need arose after his death for another prophet to lead them.

But when the turn of prophethood came to Moḥammad, upon whom be peace and blessings, the beloved of pre- and post-eternity, the alchemy of his prophethood was of the utmost strength, so that its workings were able to penetrate and transform the earth that had been Satan's fief and disdained by the

[29]Parts of the Tradition quoted at the beginning of the chapter.

All-Compassionate One—"God did not look upon the world after creating it, in repugnance"[30]—into the house of God and a series of mosques for the bondsmen of the All-Compassionate One—"the earth has been made a mosque for me." Dark earth was raised to the degree of pure water ("with its soil declared pure") and the impure booty of the infidels was turned into pure and licit property ("Booty has been made lawful for me.") The banner of intercession was placed in his capable hands—"I have been given permission to intercede"—and every nation that shall be until the end of the world was made part of his people: "I have been sent to all mankind." Finally, all enemies within the radius of a month's journey were routed, being struck with awe of his blows and fear of his might: "I have been given victory through the inspiring of awe at the distance of a month's journey."[31]

As in the beginning, the sermon of prophethood was pronounced to the heavens in his name: "I was a prophet when Adam was still between water and clay"[32]—so too in the end the coin of the seal of prophethood was struck in his name. It is indeed not strange that he should be the seal of the prophets, for as we have previously shown, Moḥammad, upon whom be peace, was both the seed of the tree of creation and its fruit, while the other prophets were the branches and leaves of the tree. Now leaves will sprout forth on a tree only as long as the fruit has not appeared, and once it has appeared, no more branches or leaves will grow. The fruit is the sealing of all, and thus prophecy was sealed with Moḥammad, upon whom be peace.

Now the Jews and Christians might ask us: "What proof is there that Moḥammad was a prophet? And even if it be established that he was a prophet, why must his religion abrogate all others, and why is it necessary that each people should abandon the religion brought by its own prophets and follow him? Each prophet has a book from God; why then should all books other

[30]Presumably intended as a Tradition; I have not been able to identify its source.
[31]"With its soil declared pure," etc., are all parts of the Tradition quoted at the beginning of the chapter.
[32]A Tradition frequently quoted by the Sufis in illustration of the pre-eternal connection of the Prophet with the institution of prophethood.

than his be abrogated, and all religions vanish and yield to his? Why is it not fitting that, as in the age of other prophets, each people should follow its own religion, with each book and religion remaining in force?"

The answer to be given them is twofold, one rational and the other relating to inner truth. The rational reply is that we should say to them: "The same question applies to you. In the light of what evidence did you recognize Moses and Jesus, upon both of whom be peace and blessings, to be prophets, without seeing either them or their miracles?" Their answer can be only one of two things: either "The accounts of their miracles have come down to us by tradition;[33] tradition is a source of knowledge, and miracles are a proof of true prophethood"; or "The matter is confirmed for us by our heart, through the light of faith, and we have no need of further evidence."

To this we then say: "Our evidence is exactly the same, for accounts of the miracles of Moḥammad, upon whom be peace and blessings, have come down to us by tradition. As for confirmation by the heart, springing from the light of faith, it is in truth we who possess it, for we believe in all of the prophets and their books, not like you who believe in some and not others. The Jews refuse to believe in Jesus, upon whom be peace and blessings, and his book; and the Christians refuse to believe in Moses, upon whom be peace and blessings, and his book, while yet calling Jesus the Son of God and the third part of the trinity. 'Verily God is exalted above that which the transgressors say concerning Him.'[34]

"Furthermore, the miracle of each prophet is confined to his own age; when he departs, he takes the miracle with him. But the special property of the religion of Moḥammad is that one of his miracles, namely, the Qur'an, has survived him and will remain until the end of the world. The miraculous nature of the

[33]Tradition *(tavātor):* more exactly, that which is current and universally accepted without query or investigation; "that which is established through currency on men's tongues and cannot be imagined to have originated from a conspiracy to lie" (Jorjānī, *Ketāb al-ta'rīfāt,* p. 74).

[34]This sentence is close to Qur'an, 17:43: "Glorified and most exalted be God above that which they say concerning Him."

Qur'an is to be seen in the fact that it has defeated all the efforts of the eloquent, whether among the Arabs or other peoples, to produce its like, and this indeed was his challenge: 'Say: If men and jinn united to produce the like of this Qur'an, they would be unable, even if they aided each other.'[35]

"What miracle could be greater than this, that despite numerous enemies and adversaries in east and west, eloquent rhetoricians among the Arabs and other peoples, the People of the Book, and the philosophers and materialists who regard the world as eternal, deny the resurrection of the body, and consider the Qur'an to be the word of Moḥammad—that despite all of these he delivered a powerful challenge and prophesied that for more than six hundred years none would be able to defy it? And in truth none has been able to produce a book like the Qur'an, either separately or with the aid and assistance of others."

The truthfulness of this prophecy is in itself a manifest miracle, and an indication of how all else that the Prophet has foretold shall come to pass in due time. Thus he foretold in particular the coming of the accursed Tartar unbelievers—may God destroy them—when he said that resurrection would not come until his people should fight against a tribe of the Turks with small eyes, broad noses, and wide faces like the skin drawn tight over a shield, and there would be much killing.[36] This has indeed come to pass. Nor may we yet rest secure, for there are further indications contained in the Traditions of the Prophet that have not yet come to pass. O God, we ask of Thee forgiveness and well-being, protection in affairs of religion and the world, and an end to our lives in a manner pleasing unto Thee, by Thy generosity and bounty.

As, then, the People of the Book have accepted Jesus and Moses as prophets because of accounts of their miracles handed down by tradition, so too they should more readily accept the prophethood of Moḥammad, were it not for their obstinacy; for his age is closer at hand, accounts of it are more plentiful and trustworthy, and the miracles constituted by the Qur'an and his foretelling of events are as plain as could be desired.

[35]Qur'an, 17:88.
[36]Tradition quoted in full on p. 40.

The faith of the Jews and the Christians, even in the previous prophets, is by way of imitation of their mothers and fathers, without any clear proof, and is not the result of the gaze of the intelligence; nor is it confirmed by the light of the heart. As it is said in the Qur'an: "We found our fathers adhering to a religion, and we follow them in guidance."[37] Similarly, the Prophet, upon whom be peace, said, "Every child is born in his primordial disposition; it is his parents who make of him a Jew, a Christian, or a Magian."[38] A religion that is taken on authority from mother and father without the light of faith or the gaze of intelligence has no value and is the opposite of true religion.

Now as to the query why, if the prophethood of Moḥammad is established and accepted, his religion must abrogate all others, our answer is this: "Since you have admitted his claim to prophethood to be true, you must regard him as truthful of speech and accept his book. Now in the glorious Qur'an, which is his Book, it is said: 'He it is Who sent His messenger with guidance and the religion of truth to make it prevail over all religion, though those who assign partners to God may be averse';[39] for all that is in the books of other prophets is in his Book, and all that is in their laws is contained within his Law, while the virtues of religion that are contained in his Book and his Law are absent from their books and laws. Therefore, all other religions and books are abrogated by his. This abrogation does not mean that they are declared totally false and untrue, or that belief is not to be reposed in them; rather it means that the truths contained in different books and the mysteries scattered in various laws have been gathered together in the Qur'an and the Law of Moḥammad, upon whom be peace and blessings—'neither wet nor dry, but contained in a Book perspicuous.'[40] There is then added to this totality the perfection of the blessing of religion that derives only from the path of Moḥammad: 'I have completed My blessing upon you and approved Islam for you as religion.'[41] Thus while other peoples follow the guidance of a single prophet and bene-

[37]Qur'an, 43:22.
[38]Tradition recorded by Bok̲ārī, Moslem, and Ebn Ḥanbal.
[39]Qur'an, 9:34.
[40]Qur'an, 6:59.
[41]Qur'an, 5:4.

fit from submission only to a single auspicious figure, this people of Islam follows the guidance of all the prophets and benefits from obedience to all of them, for 'those it is whom God has guided; follow then their guidance.' "[42]

The relationship of the prophethood of Moḥammad, upon whom be peace and blessings, with that of the other prophets may be compared to the relationship of the sun with the stars. When religion in the beginning had not yet reached perfection, men were, so to speak, in the night of religion, and each people in each age found its way through this night by the light of a different star of prophethood—"and by the star they are guided."[43] When religion attained the perfection of "this day I have perfected for you your religion,"[44] the sun of Moḥammad's being rose over the entirety of mankind ("We did not send thee save for all mankind"[45]), the night of religion was changed into the day of religion, and God's attribute of "Master of the Day of Religion"[46] became apparent. Now clearly the guiding function of the stars lasts only so long as the sun has not risen—"When day has broken, no need for a lamp."[47] When the monarch of all the stars displays his beauty, he severs the head of the beams they emit with the sword of his own rays.

Whenever the sun rises, the moon gathers up its dice.

A further comparison may be drawn with a king who wishes to conquer the world and to establish the signs of his justice and the laws of his rule in all the lands of the earth and among the peoples of every clime; who desires to benefit and profit all his subjects with his regal bounty and generosity, his might and splendor. He sends to each land and each people a messenger equipped with a letter suitably composed, containing threats

42Qur'an, 6:90.
43Qur'an, 16:16.
44Qur'an, 5:4.
45Qur'an, 34:28.
46Qur'an, 1:4. The expression *mālek yawm al-dīn* in this verse is generally understood in the sense of "Master of the Day of Judgment," i.e., the day on which men's practice of religion *(dīn)* will be judged: Dāya takes it, however, in another sense, which is clear from the context.
47An expression originating with the early Sufi Abu 'l-Ḥasan Nūrī (d. 295/907); see *Kašf al-maḥjūb*, p. 233.

and menaces, promises and enticements. The messenger addresses himself to each group in accordance with its intelligence and capacity, summoning some to the royal presence with persuasion and gentleness and bringing others by force and coercion. For dispositions vary: If the one who requires coercion is summoned with gentleness, he will not appreciate it; and if the one who deserves gentleness is brought by coercion, he will remain deprived of all blessing. Thus God Almighty addressed the Prophet: "If thou wert harsh to them and hard of heart, truly they would disperse from around thee."[48] But concerning others He said: "Be harsh with them."[49] Thus each messenger set out in a certain direction and addressed himself to a certain people in a manner suited to their state, gradually expounding to them the monarch's laws so that they might accustom themselves to his service, become submissive to his commands and desire to behold the beauty of his countenance.

In the fullness of his regal grace, the king then desired that all mankind should partake of his utmost munificence and liberality; that whereas in the beginning each group had enjoyed a share in one form of his munificence and served him in some fashion, now all should partake of the whole of his munificence, serve him in numerous different ways, turn toward the presence and be ennobled by proximity to him. He therefore dispatched another messenger, this time to the whole world, drew up another writ in which were assembled all the laws contained in previous edicts, and summoned all men to his presence by means of this messenger and his writ. He laid upon men duties of perfect service they had not yet borne and conferred upon them a degree of proximity earlier messengers had not conveyed. In order to prepare men to receive this final and perfect writ, it had been necessary in the beginning to send numerous messengers, for in their initial state of estrangement they would not have been able to offer perfect service, to receive all the laws of the monarch's rule, to attain the supreme degree of proximity, and to be worthy of waiting and attending upon his presence or fit to act as his viceregent and deputy.

[48]Qur'an, 3:159.
[49]Qur'an, 9:74.

Thus too did God Almighty desire to cast the gaze of His divine grace on this handful of dust and to ennoble every man with his viceregency—"and He made you viceregents upon earth."[50] In each age and to each people He sent a messenger, with a book wherein He expounded the ordinances of His law in a manner suited to the capacities of that people. There too He set forth some of the virtues of religion so that each people might perform some species of worship and partake of one of the degrees of religion; leave the estrangement of misbelief for the intimacy of religion; and quit the darkness of instinctual nature for the light of the law.

Then He chose Moḥammad, upon whom be peace and blessings, from among all the prophets, exalting him above them. He sent to him the glorious Qur'an in which He gathered together all the ordinances that had been scattered in previous books ("neither wet nor dry but contained within a Book perspicuous")[51] and dispatched him as messenger to all mankind—"We did not send thee save for all mankind"[52]—so that while earlier prophets had called men to Paradise, he might call them to God—"a summoner to God, with His permission"—and be a leader and a guiding lamp to His presence—"and a light-giving lamp."[53] It was his mission too to convey to all men the degrees of religion which were to attain perfection through him; to complete for them the blessing of religion ("I have completed My blessing upon you"); and to guide them to Islam, that most lofty degree which is the object of the pleasure and approval of God: "I have approved Islam for you as religion."[54] For in truth the perfect religion in the sight of the Almighty is Islam—"Truly the religion in the sight of God is Islam"[55]—and any religion other than that of Islam is rejected—"Whoever desires other than Islam as religion, it will not be accepted from him, and in the hereafter he will be among the losers."[56]

[50]Qur'an, 6:165.
[51]Qur'an, 2:59.
[52]Qur'an, 34:28.
[53]Qur'an, 33:46.
[54]Qur'an, 5:4.
[55]Qur'an, 3:19.
[56]Qur'an, 3:85.

Now as for the other answer to the objections of the Jews and the Christians, that relating to inner truth: know that the purpose for the creation of all beings is the existence of man, that the purpose for the existence of man is knowledge, which is what God Almighty has designated as the Trust, and that man alone has proved able to bear the burden of the Trust. Now knowledge is contained within religion, and the greater man's share in religion, the greater will be his share in knowledge, while he who does not partake of religion will have no part of knowledge. It is only generic man[57] who is capable of bearing the full burden of religion and its perfection, not one human being among others, in just the same way that only a tree can bear fruit, not its component branches. When a single branch sprouts up from the ground, no fruit will appear on it; but when it has grown into a tree, fruit will appear on every branch.

The human person is one throughout the world, and each individual is like a member of that person. The prophets, upon whom be peace and blessings, are the chief members of that person, namely, those indispensable for life, such as the head, the heart, the liver, the spleen, the lungs, and so forth. Among them Moḥammad, upon whom be peace and blessings, acts as the heart of the human person, and the heart is the essence of its being, for it is that place wherein the lights of the spirit are made manifest as well as having a corporeal aspect.

Even though the heart cannot engage alone in that practice of religion which yields the fruit of knowledge, and needs the aid and assistance of all the other members, nonetheless it is within the heart that knowledge, the fruit of religion, appears, and it is the heart that partakes fully thereof, while each of the other members receives a limited share befitting its state.

The heart has a further property which is not shared by any other member, namely, it has a soul peculiar to itself in addition to that soul whereby the life of each member is sustained. The form of the heart is made of the essence of the world of bodies, and its soul is made of the essence of the world of spirits. All

[57]Generic man *(ensān-e moṭlaq):* i.e., the whole human race considered as a single being; humanity as an interrelated and hierarchically organized whole.

subtle material in the world of bodies, both simple and compound, was taken and made into nourishment for the vegetable realm; all subtle material in the vegetable realm was taken and made into nourishment for the animal realm; all subtle material in the animal realm was taken and made into nourishment for man; all subtle material in this nourishment was taken and made into the human body; and all subtle material in the body was taken and made into the form of the heart. Similarly, human spirits were made from the subtle material of angelic spirits; angelic spirits were made from the subtle material of the spirits of the jinn; and the spirits of the jinn were made from the subtle material of the various components of the world of Dominion. All subtle material in the human spirit was taken and made into the soul of the heart.

The heart thus came to be the essence of the two worlds, corporeal and spiritual, and hence too the locus for the manifestation of gnosis. It is for this reason that God said, "He inscribed belief in their hearts."[58] No other part of man was fit to receive the divine inscription, nor worthy of being "held between two fingers of God."[59]

Since the Prophet Moḥammad, upon whom be peace and blessings, held the place of the heart in the human person, and the other prophets represented the other members, it was he who was found fit for "He revealed to His servant what He revealed,"[60] this being for the Prophet that which "He inscribed belief in their hearts" was for the generality of men; and it was he who was honored with the proximity of "or closer,"[61] this being for the Prophet that which "between God's two fingers" was for the generality of men.

Thus in the same way that in gnosis all the members are subordinate to the heart, so too in prophethood all the prophets are subordinate to Moḥammad. It is for this reason that he said:

[58]Qur'an, 58:22.

[59]Allusion to a Tradition: "Verily the hearts of the Children of Adam are all held between two fingers of the Compassionate One; He turns them as He wills as if they were but a single heart" (recorded by Moslem, Ebn Ḥanbal, and Nasā'ī).

[60]Qur'an, 53:10.

[61]Qur'an, 53:9.

"Were Moses and Jesus to be alive, they would have no choice but to follow me."[62] Although all the prophets were engaged in the cultivation of religion, it was in the age of Moḥammad's prophethood—may peace and blessings be upon him—that the perfection of religion was manifested.

God Almighty, in the perfection of His divine wisdom, entrusted the true essence of religion to each of the prophets in turn that they might exert themselves in its cultivation. So too wheat passes through the hands of many people before it becomes bread, each of them exercising his trade upon it: one will clean the wheat; one turn it into flour; one make the flour into dough; one form the dough into lumps; one flatten the lumps; and one place them in the oven. It is at the hands of this last that bread attains perfection, although the tasks of the others are also necessary.

From the age of Adam to the time of Jesus, each of the prophets kneaded the dough of religion in a different fashion, but it was to Moḥammad, upon whom be peace, that the glowing oven full of the fire of love belonged. When the dough that had been kneaded by more than a hundred and twenty thousand embodiments of prophecy was handed to him— "They it is whom God has guided; follow then their guidance"[63]—he closed on it the door of the oven of love, and the bread of religion was baked to perfection in the twenty-three years of his prophethood: "Today I have perfected your religion for you."[64] Then he brought it forth from the oven of love and hung over the door of his shop a proclamation saying, "I have been sent to the red and the black."[65] Those who had been starved in the famine of "an interval between the messengers"[66] spent freely of their selves and their goods in purchasing the bread—"Strive with your goods

[62]Tradition.
[63]Qur'an, 6:90.
[64]Qur'an, 5:3.
[65]Tradition. The word "red" in early Arabic usage might refer either to Persians and Greeks, the Arabs regarding themselves, like the Africans, as "black"; or to the Arabs themselves, in which case "black" would designate only Africans. See Bernard Lewis, *Race and Color in Islam* (New York, 1971), pp. 8–9. Irrespective of the precise sense of the color designations, the Tradition yields the sense that the Prophet's mission was universal.
[66]Qur'an, 5:21.

and your selves in the path of God"[67]—and that well-baked bread of religion, longed for in vain by countless thousands of peoples, became the object of delight to those of auspicious fortune who "were the best of peoples raised up for mankind."[68]

Although the prophets, upon whom be peace, had labored on this bread ever since wheat had existed, each had been able to contribute only his own share, giving thereof to his people by way of sustenance, so that each group partook of the object of his labor. The first to work upon the bread was Adam, upon whom be peace, and since in his age the bread was still at the stage of wheat, it was wheat that he ate. He was reviled on this account in the world of Dominion, and they said, "Adam has rebelled."[69] What was the meaning of this? Until then, the wheat had been in the hands of the angelic peasants and tillers who had sown it in the soil of Paradise and continued to cultivate it, as food for Adam, until God Almighty came to fashion his water and clay between Mecca and Ṭā'ef. When the creation of Adam was completed, his sustenance had also been nurtured to perfection, and it was desired to test him to see whether he could recognize the sustenance intended for him. He was addressed: "Adam, enter Paradise and eat all thou desirest, but approach not that tree."[70] In accordance with this command, he did not approach the tree, but his soul would not accustom itself to any other food and constantly inclined to the fruit of that tree.

In the same manner, if a bag of barley were placed at some distance from a horse and a pile of straw in front of it, and it were then told to eat of the straw and not to approach the barley, it would of necessity eat the straw, but at the same time constantly desire and incline toward the barley. Only the halter placed on its leg would prevent it from approaching the barley, until someone should come and remove the halter.

Even though the bounty of all eight paradises had been placed before Adam, it appeared to him as mere straw when compared to that wheat, and he was restrained only by the halter of "ap-

[67]Qur'an, 8:72.
[68]Qur'an, 3:110.
[69]Qur'an, 20:121.
[70]Qur'an, 2:35.

proach not that tree." When Eblīs came and said to him: "Shall I guide thee to the tree of immortality and a kingdom that fadeth not?"[71] Adam replied: "I already know of that tree, and have no need of thy tutoring, for I am not an angel that I might need thee as teacher. Rather, in the school of 'He taught Adam all the names'[72] I learned the nature and name of that tree. Thou perceivest truly that it is the tree of immortality and the means for attaining an eternal kingdom, but thou speakest out of enmity and crooked intent, in order to cast me into disobedience. I desire the tree with my whole heart and soul, but I am held back by the halter of God's command." Eblīs had recourse to an oath, and swearing that "unto you I am a sincere well-wisher,"[73] he loosened the halter of God's command from Adam's foot.

Adam regarded him with simplicity of heart, not imagining that anyone would swear a false oath by the greatness and glory of God. In his utter purity of heart he was deceived by the mere mention of God's name and attributes. Such is the mark of lovers, that they are not to be deceived by love of this world and the hereafter, but only by the beloved: "We were deceived through our infatuation with God."

God's reproach against Adam was not on account of the wheat, for it was for his sake that the wheat had been created, and even though the angels had cultivated it, it was not they who were to consume it, but Adam. His reproach was rather because Adam had eaten of it at the behest of Eblīs. Hence the cry went forth in the world, "Adam has rebelled."[74] Numerous providential and mysterious purposes of God were contained in this revolt of Adam, but they were hidden in the world of the Unseen, and the angels were unaware of them.

Their view of the matter was this: "We have been cultivating this tree for several thousand years until it has finally attained so graceful a shape as to adorn all eight paradises with its beauty. Now this raw infant has come and rebelliously broken

[71]Qur'an, 20:120.
[72]Qur'an, 2:31.
[73]Qur'an, 7:20.
[74]Qur'an, 20:121.

off a branch in his childish desire; he has eaten of its fruit and destroyed the tree. We had correctly foreseen this outcome when we said, 'Wilt Thou create one who will cause corruption therein?'[75] Now his corruption has become manifest, for if he had not eaten that wheat, each grain, once sown, would have yielded another tree." They knew not that a grain sown becomes a tree, and a grain eaten, a man. This is a great mystery, not within the reach of everyone's understanding.

The meaning of all this is as follows: Adam was reviled because until his time the wheat of religion had been under cultivation and none had partaken of it. It was necessary for Adam to take charge of the wheat, and then for the prophets following him, for it finally to be passed to the masterly hands of Moḥammad when the time arrived for baking. All nurtured themselves on it, for as the proverb says, "Whoever busies himself with clay will eat thereof."[76] Adam worked with wheat, and ate wheat; those who worked with flour, ate flour; and those who worked with dough, ate dough. Finally it fell to Moḥammad and his followers to eat the baked bread when it was brought forth from the oven of Mohammadan love.

Then the bread of religion that had been baked in the fire of love was placed at the shop door of Moḥammad's summons, and a crier proclaimed that whoever should desire to eat of that bread and be beloved of the Divine Presence should come to the door of Moḥammad's shop: "Say: 'If ye love God, follow me that God too may love you.' "[77] If the other prophets should wish their bread to be baked, they too must come to his shop on the morrow of resurrection, for "all men will need my intercession on the Day of Resurrection, even Abraham."[78]

The cultivation of religion was, then, possible only through generic man: Each of the prophets was a member of that man, and each kneaded the dough as was meet until it was the turn of Moḥammad, the heart of the human person, to take it into his

[75]Qur'an, 2:30.
[76]See 'Alī Akbar Dehḵodā, *Amṯāl va ḥekam*, Tehran, 1338 Š./1960, IV, p. 1966.
[77]Qur'an, 3:31.
[78]Tradition; source unknown.

hand. Then did religion attain its perfection, no longer needing the attentions of any craftsman. Never had it reached the perfection of "this day I have perfected for you your religion"[79] before the age of the Prophet, upon whom be peace. Any addition to perfection is to be accounted a decrease, and for this reason the Prophet, upon whom be peace, said: "If someone introduces into our religion what is not a part of it, it is to be rejected."[80] He also said, "Beware of all that is introduced into religion, for it is innovation, and innovation is misguidance."[81]

Religion has many attributes, each of which required one of the prophets to nurture it to perfection. Thus Adam brought to perfection the attribute of pure devotion to God; Noah, that of summoning men to God; Abraham, that of intimate friendship with God; Moses, that of discourse with God; Job, that of patience; Jacob, that of sadness; Joseph, that of sincerity of purpose; David, that of recitation of God's word; Solomon, that of gratitude; John, that of fear; and Jesus, that of hope. Similarly, all the other prophets brought a certain attribute to perfection, and although they were simultaneously nurturing other attributes, the cultivation of one particular attribute was foremost in them.

Now the pearl in the diadem of all these attributes and the supreme gem in their necklace was the attribute of love, and it was this attribute of religion that Moḥammad, upon whom be peace, nurtured to perfection, for he was the heart of the human person, and the cultivation of love is the special task of the heart.

Since the perfection of religion consists in the perfection of love, the dignity of "God will bring forth a people whom He loves and who will love Him"[82] was as a cloak of honor tailored to the stature of Moḥammad's people, and the nobility of "radiant faces gazing on that day upon the face of their Lord"[83] was as a candle lit for those who, mothlike, had immolated the substance of their being. Whereas the people of Moses had been given

[79]Qur'an, 5:4.
[80]Tradition recorded by Bok̲ārī, Moslem, Ebn Māja, and Ebn Ḥanbal.
[81]Tradition recorded by Moslem, Abū Dā'ūd, Nasā'ī, Ebn Māja. Dāremī, and Ebn Ḥanbal.
[82]Qur'an, 5:57.
[83]Qur'an, 75:22.

quail and manna, and that of Jesus a heavenly spread—"let them eat and take pleasure therein"[84]—it was enough for these ragged drinkers of dregs, these roofless profligates, to imbibe the wine of vision that the cupbearer of "their Lord gave them to drink"[85] poured from the goblet of His beauty down the throats of their being. It is true that from the effects of that wine there arises the tumult of "I am the Truth"[86] and "Glory be unto me!";[87] but to destroy the house of being was a cloak that fitted only these distraught gamblers, and to lose life on the flame of vision was possible only for these broken-winged moths. The two worlds have been farmed out to other peoples, but the pavilion of God's majesty is erected in the courtyard of these indigent beggars—"I am with those whose hearts are shattered on My account."[88]

God Almighty has inspired a verse in this beggar:

He said: "Not every heart may look on our love;
Not every soul is a shell for its pearl.
Thou art not alone in thy longing for union,
But it is not a cloak that fits every figure."

Since the perfection of religion was dependent upon the perfection of the attribute of love, and that attribute reached perfection by means of the Prophet Moḥammad, upon whom be peace, the heart of the human person, therefore he was the Beloved of God and the Seal of the Prophets. Whoever desires religion in its perfection and the rank of beloved of God, let him place his head on the path of imitating the Prophet, for "Say: 'If ye love God, then follow me that God may love you.'"[89]

Since perfection was reached with this religion of Islam, all other religions became abrogated, in the same way that whenever water is to be had, ablution with soil is not permitted.[90] We

[84]Qur'an, 15:3.
[85]Qur'an, 76:21.
[86]The celebrated utterance of Hallāj; see 'Attār, *Tazker at al-owliyā'*, I, p. 122.
[87]An utterance of Bāyazīd Basṭāmī that concludes: "and how sublime is my rank." See 'Aṭṭār, *Tazkerat al-owliyā*, I, p. 134.
[88]A *ḥadīs̱ qodsī:* al-Ḥaddādī, *al-Etḥāfāt al-sanīya*, p. 136.
[89]Qur'an, 3:31.
[90]Ablution with soil *(tayammom):* When water is not to be had, a token minor ablution may be made before offering prayer by dusting the palms of the hands with soil.

have explained how, in the time of earlier prophets, it had been necessary to eat wheat, flour, and dough; now that the bread had been baked, the eating of these was abrogated. Indeed, all the prophets, upon whom be peace, will come tomorrow to the door of this shop and obtain bread from our baker, for "Adam and all who come after him shall stand under my banner on the Day of Resurrection; yet I take no pride therein."[91] Yet the Prophet, in the breadth of his powers and the loftiness of his intent, is not contented with the mere baking of the bread of religion, not satisfied with saying, "I am the master of the sons of Adam," for again he adds, "yet I take no pride therein."

What truth is indicated here? An extremely profound truth and a subtle allusion, for the Prophet says in effect: "All this baking of bread, this mastery, leadership and standard bearing, is the benefit men derive from me, for 'We have not sent thee save as a mercy to all the worlds.'[92] All this is then a cause of pride and boasting for them, that they have a commander, a leader, an intercessor, a paragon, a model, and a guide such as me. My share in all this is in sharelessness; my fulfillment in nonfulfillment; my wish, in wishlessness; my being, in nonbeing; and my wealth and my pride, in poverty: 'Poverty is my pride.' "[93]

This feeble one says:

Neither Khorasan nor Iraq is our wish,
And of the friend not union, not parting, we seek.
To no wish can I be joined, I am free of all wish;
Such and such alone, this is my wish.

O Moḥammad, we ask, what mystery is this that you do not boast of the command and leadership of the prophets, but take pride instead in poverty? "This is because our path is founded on love and affection, and it can be traveled only in a state of nonbeing, while command, leadership, and prophethood are all part of being—"

[91]Tradition recorded by Dāremī, Ebn Ḥanbal and Termeẕī.
[92]Qur'an 21:107.
[93]Tradition universally quoted in Sufi texts; see Forūzānfar, *Aḥādīs̱-e Mas̱navī*, p. 23.

Only the lightly laden may travel this path;
  Lighten thy burden of self, then tread the path.
A hundred times daily thou wilt be slain on the path;
  But breathe not a hint of desire for requital.

When a party of infidels broke the lip and the tooth of the Prophet, upon whom be peace, with the stone of affliction, he was about to part his lips in prayer for them.[94] He had not yet moved his lips when the heavy rock of "Thou hast naught to do with the affair"[95] was cast at his feet. How strange! None had treated Noah in this manner, yet he said: "My Lord, leave not a single inhabitant upon earth from among the unbelievers!"[96] Immediately a storm arose throughout the world and destroyed all mankind. Truly Noah was the manifestation of the attribute of wrath, and the path he trod was in accordance therewith—"Say: 'Each acts according to his disposition.'"[97] Moḥammad, upon whom be peace, was the manifestation of the attributes of grace and of love, and the path he trod was that of concern for the well-being of others. Thus, after they had stoned him, he said: "O God, guide my people, for they know not."

Whence sprang this conduct? From the path of self-diminution and nonbeing that had been laid out before him, so that he might lose his being in nonbeing.

Unless thou become less and then less again,
  Never can thou join the ranks of the lovers.

For as long as figurative being persists, it is impossible to partake in full of the presence of true being; only insofar as you sacrifice figurative being for the sake of true being can you have any share therein. Thus firewood comes to partake of its being as firewood by means of fire, but only insofar as it sacrifices its

[94]A reference to the battle of Oḥod, the second major engagement between the Muslims and the Meccan polytheists, in the course of which the Prophet was struck by a stone cast by 'Otba b. Abī Waqqās. See Ebn Hešām, *al-Sīrat al-nabawīya* (Cairo, 1375/1955), II, pp. 79–80.

[95]Qur'an, 3:128: one of the verses revealed on the occasion of the defeat at Oḥod (3:121–129).

[96]Qur'an, 71:26.

[97]Qur'an, 17:84.

own firewood being to the being of the fire; and it partakes fully of its own being only when it sacrifices it completely to the being of the fire. Then it is transformed from firewood, with density, darkness, and lowliness, into fire, with subtlety, luminosity, and elevation. If there is anything left of its own firewood being, smoke will be seen to arise as a sign of longing for the fire. For the firewood, having once tasted the fire, is no longer content with its own firewood being and wishes to become totally transformed into the fire being.

> O Lord, what place is there now for desire
> For today He is both rival and cupbearer?[98]
> Come, O cupbearer, pour out more wine,
> For a trace remains yet of our being.

Thus whatever fire the wood encounters while in this state it encounters for its own sake, and it can give nothing of it to others.

> The true worth of thy burning is hidden from the raw;
> Burn then for me, already burned a hundredfold!

But once the firewood has entirely sacrificed itself to the fire, it will desire its own being and any fire that it may encounter only for the sake of other firewood.

There is a great mystery contained within this allegory. The one hundred and twenty thousand and more instances of prophethood have sacrificed the firewood of their human nature to the fire of love and the manifestation of God's attributes, but some half-burned fragment has remained from each, so that on the morrow of resurrection smoke will arise from them, proclaiming their selfhood.

But as for Moḥammad, upon whom be peace, he has immo-

[98]The cupbearer *(sāqī)* represents in Sufi poetry "the superabundant source of grace that intoxicates all the particles of existence with the wine of conjunctive being *(hastī-ye eżāfī)* [i.e., a being that derives from God without intermediary]" (anon., *Mer'āt-e 'oššāq*, p. 155). The rival *(ḥarīf)* is he who competes for the attention of the cupbearer; the wayfarer on the spiritual path.

lated, mothlike, the entirety of his being on the candle of the glory of the unity of the Essence, and sacrificed all of his Moḥammadan being to the fiery tongue of love that leaps forth from that candle. He cries out instinctively, "My people! My people!"[99] and the tongue of the candle has become his tongue. Severing all relation to the sons of Adam, he proclaims: "Moḥammad was not the father of a man from among you; rather the Messenger of God and the Seal of the Prophets."[100]

This feeble one has composed the following verse:

> We are those who have voided their selves of all being;
> Who have set light to all their being;
> Who in the nights of union before thy candlelike cheek,
> Have like the moth lost all their being.

What you have heard concerning Moḥammad, upon whom be peace, being shadowless, is because he had become entirely transmuted into light—"O people, a light has come unto you from your Lord"[101]—and light has no shadow. When the Prophet had been delivered from the shadow of his self, the whole world took refuge in his light, for "Adam and all who come after him shall stand under my banner on the Day of Resurrection; yet I take no pride therein."[102] The Mohammadan Light had marked out the first boundary of being, for "The first that God created was my Light";[103] now it marked out the boundary of eternity, for "There is no prophet after me."[104]

After the sun of Moḥammad's ascendancy had risen, the stars of sanctity of the earlier prophets departed, the night illumined by their religions yielded to day, and the verse of their prophethood became abrogated by that of "Master of the Day of Reli-

[99]Allusion to a long Tradition, recorded by Boḵārī and Moslem, in which the Prophet foretold his intercession on the Day of Judgment and his plea to God: "My people, O Lord, my people!"

[100]Qur'an, 33:40.

[101]A phrase close in its wording to Qur'an, 5:17: "A light has come to you from God and a perspicuous Book"; and also to 4:174, "O people, a proof has come to you from your Lord, and We have send down to you a perspicuous light."

[102]Tradition: see n. 91 above.

[103]Tradition; compare with the Traditions quoted on p. 78.

[104]Tradition recorded by Boḵārī and Ebn Ḥanbal.

gion."[105] For there is no use to be had of a lamp in the daytime: "Once the day has broken, no need for a lamp."[106] Wretched is that blind and unseeing one who is deprived of all light when it exists in such plenitude!

> The sun has long since risen, O idol;
> If it shines not on me, 'tis my misfortune.

The Prophet, upon whom be peace, may be thought of as saying: "Even though the sun of my form shall set in the occident of 'every soul shall taste death,' the sun of ascendancy of my religion shall remain until the end of the world, through the medium of pious and truthful scholars—'There will constantly be a group of my people adhering steadfastly to the truth.'[107] What need henceforth for prophets, for each of the scholars of my religion shall be equal to a prophet? 'The scholars of my people are like the prophets of the Children of Israel.'"[108]

Religion has an outer and an inner aspect. The former is preserved by the knowledge cultivated by God-fearing scholars and the latter is cultivated and maintained by shaikhs who have themselves traveled on the Path and guide others on it, for "The shaikh among his following is like the prophet among his people."[109] God Almighty in His generosity has made incumbent upon Himself the preservation of religion by means of these two classes, for He says: "We it is Who have sent down the Remembrance, and We it is Who shall preserve it."[110]

[105]Qur'an, 1:4. See n. 46 above.
[106]See n. 47 above.
[107]Tradition recorded by Bok̲ārī and Nasā'ī.
[108]Tradition recorded by Ebn Ḥanbal.
[109]Tradition recorded with a slightly different wording ("the shaikh in his household is like the prophet among his people") by Ebn Ḥabbān.
[110]Qur'an, 15:9.

Fifth Chapter:
Concerning the Cultivation of the Human Frame in Accordance with the Code of the Law

God Almighty said: "He prospers who purifies himself, invokes the name of his Lord, and prays."[1]

The Prophet, upon whom be peace and blessings, said: "By Him in Whose hand my soul is held, the faith of none of you is steadfast until his heart is steadfast; his heart is not steadfast until his tongue is steadfast; and his tongue is not steadfast until his deeds are steadfast."[2]

Know that God Almighty has opened a path from the *malakūt* of spirits to the heart of His servant, laid down another path from the heart to the soul, and made a third path from the soul to the bodily frame. Thus every gracious aid that comes to the spirit from the world of the Unseen is passed on to the heart; then some part of it is given to the soul by the heart; and finally some trace of it is bestowed by the soul on the bodily frame, causing a suitable deed to appear there.

If, conversely, some dark and carnal deed should appear on the bodily frame, a trace of its darkness will affect the soul; then blackness will be transmitted from the soul to the heart; and finally a covering will come to the spirit from the heart, veiling its luminosity like a halo around the moon. Through this veiling, the path connecting the spirit with the world of the Unseen will become partially closed, so that it will be unable fully to contemplate that world and the gracious aid it receives will decrease.

As that dark deed increases on the bodily frame, so too will the trace of darkness afflicting the spirit. The veils covering it will multiply, and its vision, hearing, speech, and knowledge will correspondingly diminish, so that if it is not cured by the

[1]Qur'an, 87:14.
[2]Tradition recorded by Ebn Ḥanbal.

ordinances of the Law, it is to be feared that—God forbid—the phrase "God sealed their hearts"[3] will be descriptive of its state, and that it will acquire the attribute of "deaf, dumb and blind; so they understand not."[4]

This interrelation of bodily frame, soul, heart, and spirit resembles a talisman with its parts, spiritual and corporeal, locked in position one over the other by God Almighty. The key for unlocking this talisman is the Law. The Law has an outer and an inner aspect. Its outer aspect consists of bodily deeds, these forming the key for opening the talisman of the bodily frame. The key has five teeth: prayer, fasting, the purifying tax, pilgrimage, and uttering the testimony of faith. For the talisman of the bodily frame has been secured with the five locks of the five senses and can be opened only by this five-toothed key—"Islam is built on five pillars."[5] As for the inner aspect of the Law, this consists of deeds of the heart and spirit and is called the Path. It will be described in the chapters concerning the cultivation of the soul, the heart, and the spirit, God Almighty willing. The Path is the key to the talisman of man's inner being, and enables him to attain to the world of Reality.

Men are of two kinds: the prophets, upon whom be peace, and the peoples who follow them. The prophets first had the gate to the talisman of their inner beings unlocked by the key of the Path, coming from the world of the Unseen. The gracious aid of God's munificence came to their spirits, for they were prepared to receive it, and the talisman was opened; its effect then reached their hearts and their souls in succession, and finally came to the form of their bodily frames, causing the form of the Law to appear there. Thus God said: "Thou knewest not what was the Book, nor faith; but We made thereof a light whereby We guide whomsoever We will of Our bondsmen."[6]

The form of the Law was then made the key to unlock the talisman of other men's bodily frames, so that a door was opened

[3]Qur'an, 2:7.
[4]Qur'an, 2:171.
[5]First part of the Tradition quoted in full on p. 52.
[6]Qur'an, 42:52.

onto the world of the Unseen. Once they have gradually opened the talisman of form with the key of the Law, they receive the key of the Path to unlock the talisman of their inner beings. But, until they use the key of the Law in the proper manner, with obedience to its commands, they cannot escape the talisman of form. Proper use of the key of the Law consists in making each member engage in the deed ordained for it, and in abstaining from deeds that have been forbidden. Then the teeth of the key will fit exactly into the locks of the talisman, and it will immediately be opened. But if some teeth fit and others do not, or slip after entering the lock, the talisman will never be fully opened. To the degree that the teeth of the key fit straight into the lock, it will be partially opened; the signs of straightness and rectitude will appear on the tongue, from the tongue go to the heart, and from the heart reach the world of the Unseen, so that the light of faith appears from that world in the heart. As this straightness and rectitude increase in the bodily form, through deeds performed in accordance with the Law, the lights of faith will reach the heart from the world of the Unseen in greater measure—"that they might be increased by faith added to their faith."[7] When the form of the bodily frame has been cultivated to perfection through the ordinances of the Law, faith too will attain perfection in the heart. All this is plain from the Tradition quoted at the beginning of this chapter.

As for the fact that the five pillars of the Law are the five teeth of the key for unlocking the talisman of the five senses, this is because man has suffered certain afflictions and veilings of his vision as a result of the five senses, so that he has reached the level of the animals and beasts, or descended even lower. If he remains in this lowly degree and the talisman is not opened to deliver him from bestial attributes, then God's saying "They are like the beasts, rather more errant,"[8] will apply to him.

Now the animals and beasts partake of the world below by means of their five senses. The first of these is sight, which pertains to the eye; all desire to look upon what is pleasing and good. The second is hearing, which pertains to the ear; all desire

[7]Qur'an, 48:4.
[8]Qur'an, 7:178.

to hear pleasant sounds, and they fear and shun unpleasant sounds. The third is smell, which pertains to the nose; all desire to smell pleasant scents. The fourth is taste, which pertains to the palate; all desire to eat something pleasant. The fifth is touch, which pertains to all of the body. The animals desire, with all of their bodies, to enjoy to the utmost their bestial pleasures and passions, and are unaware of any other world, for they lack the means whereby they might have some share in the world above and the hereafter, or eternity.

To man too the five senses have been given, but he has received also the ability to partake of other worlds through means that are lacking in the beasts. If he occupies himself completely with the enjoyments of the bestial world, he will become totally unaware of those other worlds, and be like the animals or worse. For since they are by nature deprived of those worlds, they cannot know or perceive the fact of their deprivation, and they will escape the torment of seeing the deprivation and loss that arise from the squandering of high fortune. But man will on the morrow perceive his deprivation and be called to account for his wastage of good fortune; he will see members of his own species engaged in the auspicious enjoyment of "When thou seest, then thou shalt see bounty and a great kingdom";[9] and he will suffer the torment of deprivation and the chastisement for disobedience. The beasts suffer neither of these, and it is for this reason that it is said, "rather more errant."[10] If, on the other hand, man were totally to abandon bestial and animal enjoyment, he would be unable to cultivate his bodily frame and would be thus deprived of the benefits arising therefrom.

The Law was therefore sent to him so that every action he undertakes in bestial pleasure and animal enjoyment may be in accordance with divine command, not with instinctual nature. For from instinctual nature comes naught but darkness, and from divine command naught but light. When man performs an action in accordance with nature, he sees himself and not God, and this is darkness and a veiling; but when he performs it in accordance with command, he sees in it only God and not him-

[9]Qur'an, 76:20.
[10]Qur'an, 7:178.

self, and this is light and an unveiling. Further, all darkness and blackness that appear on the frame because of actions inspired by nature result from conforming to the desires of the soul; they are to be removed by means of the acts of worship enjoined by the Law that run counter to the desires of the soul.

Each pillar of the Law also acts as a reminder to man of his original homeland and of his coming here from that world, and guides him too on his journey of return to the true abode, which is the proximity of the Lord of the Worlds. Saying "no god but God" makes him aware of the world where naught stood between him and the Divine Presence. Longing for that world and yearning for that state will awaken in him and he will desire to return to them. He will detach his heart from this world, bestial pleasures will become bitter to the palate of his soul, and he will direct himself toward the Divine Presence. Thus one tooth of the key of the Law will have fitted into the lock of the talisman and opened one part of it.

Prayer informs man of his original state in two ways: through the forms and motions of prayer, and through the attribute of orison inherent in it. The shape, forms, and motions of prayer both inform him of his coming to this world and indicate to him how he might return to the other world. Standing erect, bowing, prostration, and sitting to bear witness all have significance in this respect. The position of sitting to bear witness reminds man of his contemplation of the Almighty and his presence with Him before coming here. Prostration is a reminder that when man came to this world, he first joined the vegetable realm, for the plants are all in prostration—"The plants and the trees prostrate themselves."[11] They have all bowed their heads to the ground in prostration, for the head is that part which draws nurture to the body, and the plants draw in nurture by way of the root. Bowing is a reminder to man that he progressed from the vegetable to the animal realm, for animals are all in a state of bowing with their backs bent. Standing erect is similarly a reminder to man that he advanced from the animal to the human realm, for all men stand erect. Hence it can be said that you have come from bowing and prostration to an upright stance.

[11]Qur'an, 55:6.

In the motions of prayer there is a further indication, namely, that upon uttering the *takbīr* of consecration,[12] you should turn away from all worldly desires and accidents. Furthermore, upon raising your hands you should cast away both this world and the hereafter for the sake of your lofty intent, and recite a *takbīr* over the bestial and animal world.[13] When you say *"Allāho akbar,"* you should know that nothing is great in the face of God's greatness, and averting your gaze from all that appears to be great to the soul and the passions, direct it instead to the greatness of God. It is for this reason that the Prophet, upon whom be peace and blessings, said: "The first *takbīr* is better than the world and all it contains."[14] Then in the course of the prayer you should journey away from yourself. First leave the erect posture of man, which is the form of haughtiness, arrogance, and egoism, and come to the bowing of animals, which is the form of modesty, humility, and meekness. Then proceed to prostration, which represents the impotence, abjection, abasement, and lowliness of the vegetable state, and finally sit to bear witness, thus returning to your original presence with God Almighty and contemplation of Him: "Prostrate thyself and draw nigh."[15]

O heart, 'tis by the door of abasement thou should enter;
Else how might thou conquer love with bold glances?

Once you have entered by this door, you may mount again the ladder you once descended, for "Prayer is the believer's ascension."[16]

[12]*Takbīr* of consecration: the pronunciation of *Allāho akbar* ("God is greatest") while raising the hands to the level of the ears, which marks the beginning of the prayer.

[13]To "recite a *takbīr*" over something has the literal sense of performing a funerary prayer over it and the figurative sense of dissociating oneself from it and consigning it to oblivion.

[14]The Tradition is reported with a different wording by Deylamī ("The first *takbīr*, performed by a man together with the *emām*, is better for him than the gift of a thousand sacrificial animals.") By the first *takbīr* is meant the *takbīr* of consecration.

[15]Qur'an, 96:19.

[16]Tradition; see Hojvīrī, *Kašf al-maḥjūb*, p. 357; and Abu'l-Qāsem al-Qošayrī, *Ketāb al-me'rāj*, ed. 'Alī Ḥasan 'Abd al-Qāder (Cairo, 1384/1964), p. 44. See also p. 55, n. 12.

Where is the path that brought me, O soul?
I would return, for things fare ill, O soul.
At each step I see a thousand traps, O soul;
Love is forbidden to the unmanly, O soul.

The attribute of orison inherent in prayer causes man to advance from the animal degree and carnal desire to the angelic state; detaching him from the discourse of men and the deceit of the devil, it joins him to orison and discourse with God. It recalls to him the taste of that discourse when God asked him, "Am I not your Lord?"[17] for "Man in prayer is engaged in intimate discourse with his Lord."[18] Prayer, together with the other pillars of Islam, has numerous other mysteries and benefits inherent in it which, if they were all to be expounded, could not be contained in countless books. Here some indication has been made, so that our brief account should not remain entirely without mention of these benefits.

As for fasting, it calls man's attention to that period when he resembled the angels and had not been veiled from God by the possession of animal attributes, for eating is a property of animals and not eating is an attribute of angels and of God Almighty. By means of this indication contained within fasting, man may abandon animal characteristics and acquire characteristics of God, for "fasting is Mine, and I bestow reward for it."[19] That is, "fasting is exclusively Mine," for it is only God Almighty Who in truth is exalted above all need of food while all else stands in need thereof. Although the angels do not eat animal food, their proclamation of God's transcendence and holiness is food for them, and everything else also has a type of food suited to its nature. "I bestow reward for it": that is to say, "The reward for other acts of worship is Paradise, but the reward for fasting is the acquisition of My characteristics." For unlike all other acts of obedience and worship, the form of fasting conforms to the Almighty Presence, since it is the abandonment of food, and God Almighty is exalted above all need of food. It was revealed to Jesus, upon whom be peace and bless-

[17]Qur'an, 7:171. See p. 35, n. 7.
[18]Presumably a Tradition or part thereof.
[19]*Ḥadīs̱ qodsī* recorded by Bok̲ārī, Moslem, Nasā'ī, Ebn Māja and Ebn Ḥanbal.

ings: "Hunger, and thou shalt see Me; cut loose from other than Me, and thou shalt be joined to Me."[20]

As for the purifying tax, it purifies the soul of animal attributes and adorns it with the attributes of God, for it is an animal attribute to accumulate and not to give to others. Man is obliged to accumulate, but if he gives nothing to others he will remain polluted by the animal attribute. God therefore orders man to pay the purifying tax in order that he might cleanse himself of that pollution—"Take an offering from their property whereby thou shalt cleanse and purify them"[21]—and adorn himself with the attributes of God, for munificence and generosity are the attributes of God Almighty. "He who gives and fears God, who affirms the truth of that which is fairest, him shall We cause to attain ease."[22] Fearing God and affirming the truth are attributes of servitude, while giving is an attribute of divinity.

As for the pilgrimage, it is an indication of return to the Almighty Presence, a conveyance of tidings of union with God Almighty. "Proclaim the pilgrimage among men; they shall come unto thee on foot."[23]

This feeble one says:

> O cupbearer, pour out the pure wine with joy—
> We are all drunk, pour out the wine!
> "There is none among us not ruined and ravaged"—
> Cry out the message to this ruined hamlet!

God thus addresses man: "O thou who art established in the city of humanity, who hast taken up residence in the house of animal nature, all unaware of the Ka'ba of Our union! For how long wilt thou remain in thy bestial abode, with thy feet bound with repugnant satanic and animal attributes, thy arm hung in embrace around the neck of My enemies—'Your wives and offspring are an enemy unto you'[24]—and thyself caught in Satan's sack of deceit, through worldly bliss and its trappings?

[20]*Ḥadīs̱ qodsī.*
[21]Qur'an, 9:104.
[22]Qur'an, 92:7.
[23]Qur'an, 22:27.
[24]Qur'an, 64:14.

"Arise, and in manly fashion cast off these fetters and halters; bid farewell to wife and offspring, to kith and kin, to household and property. Recite to all the verse of 'Truly they are enemies unto me, save the Lord of the Worlds,'[25] and averting thyself from all, place thy foot on the path with the sincere direction of 'I have set my face to Him Who has created the heavens and earth.'[26] In purity of conviction form the intention of 'I am going to my Lord Who shall guide me';[27] step outside the stages and stopping places of worldly approval, of caprice and passionate nature; and cross the desert of the concupiscent soul.

"When thou hast reached the place of consecration that is the heart, perform a total ablution with the water of repentance; divest thyself of the garment of the human state; and clothe thyself in the *eḥrām*[28] of Our servitude. Cry out *labbayk*[29] in love; ascend the Arafat[30] of gnosis; climb the Mount of Mercy[31] of Our Grace; and place thy foot in the enclosed shrine of Our nearness. Stand firm at the Sacred Waymark[32] of Our servitude; proceed to the Menā[33] of the death of desire; sacrifice at that place of

[25]Qur'an, 26:77.

[26]Qur'an, 6:79.

[27]Qur'an, 37:99.

[28]*Eḥrām:* the state of consecration formally assumed by the pilgrim on his approach to the sacred territory surrounding Mecca, or the garment, consisting of two pieces of seamless white fabric, that is the outward sign of that state.

[29]*Labbayk:* "I answer Thy call"; part of the formula unceasingly repeated by the pilgrim as he draws near to Mecca: "I answer Thy call, O God, I answer Thy call; I answer Thy call, O God, I answer Thy call; I answer Thy call, O God, I answer Thy call; I answer Thy call, O Thou without partner, I answer Thy call; Thine is all praise and all bounty, and Thine is the kingdom; O Thou without partner, I answer Thy call."

[30]Arafat: The valley to the east of Mecca, dominated by a mountain, where the pilgrims gather on the ninth day of the pilgrimage month and remain standing from noon to sunset invoking God's praise and beseeching His mercy.

[31]The Mount of Mercy *(Jabal al-Raḥima):* the mountain dominating the valley of Arafat, so called because of the farewell sermon delivered there by the Prophet in the last year of his life.

[32]Sacred Waymark *(Maš'ar al-Ḥarām):* a roofless mosque at Mozdalefa, where the pilgrims proceed after the rite of standing at Arafat. Cf. Qur'an, 2:198: "and when ye pour down from Arafat, make remembrance of God at the Sacred Waymark."

[33]Menā: a town almost halfway between Mecca and Arafat where the pilgrims, arriving from Mozdalefa, ritually stone three pillars that mark the site of Satan's temptation of Esmā'īl, and sacrifice an animal. Dāya indulges here in a three-part word play, Menā, *maneyat,* (death) and *monā* (desire), all of which appear to derive from the same Arabic triliteral root, MNY.

slaughter the beast that is thy carnal soul; and then turn to the Ka'ba of Our union—'Leave thyself and come.'

"On arriving, perform the circumambulation with the intention of making Us the pivot of thy being instead of thine own self; renew thy covenant with Us[34] at the Black Stone, which is the symbol of thy heart and God's oath. Then proceed to the station of Abraham, which is the station of the spirituality of Our friendship.[35] There perform a prayer of two *rak'ats* by way of greeting the station and as a sign that thou dost not serve Us out of hope of paradise or fear of hell, like a journeyman, but out of the compulsion of love, like a lover.

"Then come to the door of the Ka'ba of Our union, leave thy self cleaving to that door like a ring, and come forth without self. For fear and separation arise from selfhood, and safety and union from selflessness. Recite, then, the verse of 'He who enters it shall be safe.'"[36]

> O heart, leave thy heart, then go to that dear presence;
>   Leave thy head, then enter her court of union.
> Approach her door in utter solitude;
>   Leave thy self at the door, then enter.

All five teeth of the key constituted by the five pillars of the Law

[34]I.e., the primordial covenant contracted by man when he acknowledged God as his Lord. See p. 35, n. 7.

[35]The station of Abraham (Maqām Ebrāhīm): the place facing the northeastern corner of the Ka'ba where Abraham is said to have prayed, and where now the pilgrim performs two *rak'ats* (units of prayer) after completing his circumambulation of the Ka'ba. "The station of the spirituality of Our friendship *(ḵellat)*": station *(maqām)* in its second occurrence has its technical Sufi sense of "a stable spiritual state, achieved by man's own strivings [in contradistinction to an exercise of divine grace]" (Sajjādī, *Farhang-e moṣṭalaḥāt-e 'orafā va motaṣavvefa*, pp. 380–381). As for friendship *(ḵellat)*, this is in allusion to the epithet of Abraham, "Friend of the Compassionate One" *(Ḵalīl al-Raḥmān)*; cf. Qur'an, 4:125: "and God took Abraham as a friend."

[36]Qur'an, 3:97. This whole passage, elucidating the inner meaning of the pilgrimage rites, invites comparison with the discussion of the pilgrimage in Hojvīrī's *Kašf al-maḥjūb* (pp. 384–388); the similarities in content and wording are such as to make it probable that Dāya was drawing directly on the work of his predecessor. Concerning other esoteric interpretations of the pilgrimage, see Fritz Meier, "Das Mysterium der Ka'ba," *Eranos-Jahrbuch*, XI (1944), 187–214.

will then fit exactly into the lock of the five senses; the corporeal and spiritual talismans will be opened; and the aim will be attained.

This is an indication of some of the modes of worship pertaining to the outer form of the Law, and of the benefits inherent therein. As for the inner truths of the Law, all the layers of heaven and earth would not suffice for the recording of their description, and they are to be comprehended by vision, not by speech. Understand this hint, and do not demand clear statement.

May God's peace and blessings be upon Moḥammad and his family.

Sixth Chapter:
Concerning the Refinement of the Soul and the Knowledge Thereof

God Almighty said: "By a soul and Him Who ordered it, inspiring it with knowledge of lewdness and godfearing—truly he prospers who refines it, and he fails who corrupts it."[1]

The Prophet, upon whom be God's peace and blessings, said: "Your most hostile enemy is your soul, enclosed between your two sides."[2]

Know that the soul is an enemy with the appearance of a friend. Its guile and deceit are unbounded, and to repel its evil and subjugate it is the most important of tasks. For it is the most hostile of all enemies, more so than demons, infidels, and the life of this world. It has been said that "there is no believer without four enemies,"[3] and of the four the soul is the greatest enemy. Hence the Prophet said: "Your most hostile enemy is your soul, enclosed between your two sides."

Thus, to train the soul and restore it to a state of rectitude, and to advance it from the attribute of commanding to the degree of tranquillity, is a great task. The perfection of human happiness lies in the refinement of the soul, and the completion of man's wretchedness lies in abandoning the soul to the demands of instinctual nature. Hence God Almighty said, after invoking a multiple oath: "Truly he prospers who refines it, and he fails who corrupts it." For the refinement and training of the soul yields knowledge of the soul, and knowledge of the soul leads to knowledge of God: "He who knows his soul knows his Lord."[4] This knowledge is the summit of all felicity. Here a subtle point arises: Until you know the soul, you cannot train it, but until you bring the soul to perfection, you cannot gain that

[1]Qur'an, 91:10.
[2]Tradition recorded by Beyhaqī.
[3]Tradition; source unknown.
[4]A Tradition universally quoted in Sufi literature (Forūzānfar, *Aḥādīṣ-e Masnavī,* p. 167). For an explanation of its sense, see Ġazālī, *kīmiyā-ye sa'ādat,* ed. Aḥmad Ārām (Tehran, 1319 Š./1940), pp. 9-10.

true knowledge of it which results in the knowledge of God. A complete explanation would fill numerous books, but here some useful indication will be given, clear and concise, if God, Unique and Almighty, so wills.

Know that the soul, in the usage of the People of the Path, consists of a subtle vapor arising from the fleshly form of the heart. It is that which the physicians call the animal spirit. From it arise all reprehensible attributes, as God Almighty says: "Truly the soul commands unto evil."[5]

As for the locus of the soul in man, know that it encompasses all the parts and sections of the human frame, like the oil that is contained in all parts of the substance of the sesame seed. The soul of other animals has the same relation to the body with respect to outward form, but the human soul has certain attributes lacking in the soul of animals.

One of these is the attribute of permanence. The human soul has been given a taste of the world of permanence, so that it might remain after separation from the bodily frame and abide permanently in heaven or in hell—"abiding therein eternally."[6] Animal souls, by contrast, have no taste of the world of permanence and are annihilated on quitting the body.

As for the human soul's acquisition of a taste of the world of permanence, know that permanence is of two kinds: one that always was and is, this being the permanence of God Almighty and Exalted; and the other, that once was not, then came into being and shall henceforth subsist, by virtue of God's permanence. This is the permanence of spirits, of the world of dominion, and of the hereafter. In the beginning, it was not; then God Almighty created it, and He too shall maintain it to all eternity.

The human soul has been given a taste of both kinds of permanence. It gained a taste of God's permanence when Adam's clay was being molded, for one of the precious jewels that God in His divine person secreted in that abject soil was permanence

[5]Qur'an, 12:53.
[6]A phrase occurring twelve times in the Qur'an.

everlasting. As for the taste of the permanence of spirits, it was placed in the soul when the spirit and the frame were joined in union, by the workings of "I inhaled in him of My spirit."[7]

Their joining resembles that of a man and a woman from whose union twins are born, one male, resembling the father, the other female, resembling the mother. From the marriage of the spirit and the frame, two children were born, the heart and the soul. The heart was a boy, resembling his father, the spirit; and the soul was a girl, resembling her mother, the earthly frame. All praiseworthy lofty and spiritual attributes were present in the heart, and all reprehensible and lowly qualities in the soul. But since the soul was the offspring of both spirit and frame, it too had something of the permanence and praiseworthy attributes that pertain to spirituality. It was in this manner that the human soul gained permanence, in contrast with the souls of animals, which are born of the elements and the heavenly spheres, without any trace of spirituality, and are necessarily destined to annihilation, like their mother and father.

Even though in the beginning it was the soul of Adam alone that arose from the marriage of spirit and frame, nonetheless there were contained within his soul the particles of the souls of his offspring, in the same way that the particles of the bodily existence of his progeny were contained within his earthly frame. Later, in the age of "When thy Lord drew forth their descendants from their loins, from the sons of Adam,"[8] every particle of progeny that was brought forth from the loins of Adam was the particle of the earthly frame of one of his offspring. Within this particle was contained too the particle of that offspring's soul. The particles were then drawn up in different ranks, corresponding to those of the spirits, in such manner that each spirit faced the particle to which it was bound by some affinity, and gazed upon it. The particle was thereby enabled to hear the address of "Am I not your Lord?"[9] and made fit to give affirmative answer. The bringing forth of the particles from the loins of Adam had this beneficial result, that they were touched

[7]Qur'an, 15:29.
[8]Qur'an, 7:172.
[9]Qur'an, 7:172.

by the rays of the spirits. God Almighty could have addressed His question to them even in Adam's loins, but since the gaze of the spirits had not fallen upon them, they would have been unable to hear the address and give answer.

God then sent forth the particles in the loins of Adam so that He might preserve them until the end of the world through His Divine Grace, keeping them in the loins of fathers and the wombs of mothers, passing from loin to loin and womb to womb. At the time of generation the particle is divided into two halves, one being contained in the sperm of the father, the other in the sperm of the mother, and these are then placed in the loins of the father and the breast of the mother. Thus God said: "issuing between the loins and the breastbones."[10] When conjugal union takes place, the two halves join in the womb of the mother and intermingle: "We created him from a drop of mingled sperm, in order to test him."[11] The drop of sperm then becomes a drop of coagulated blood, and this in turn becomes a formless lump of flesh, each change being accomplished in a period of forty days. When three periods of forty days have been completed, the lump of flesh has become fit to receive the spirit which gazed on it, when still a particle, in the world of spirits:[12] "Then We made of it another creation."[13] As the particle which is the origin of the child's bodily frame is nurtured in the womb, so too, in parallel fashion, is the particle of the soul that is contained in it. Similarly, when the child enters existence and reaches maturity, his soul will also attain perfection, thus becoming capable of bearing the obligations imposed on him by the Law.

If the Law were to be addressed to him earlier, he would be unable to bear its obligations, whether formally or inwardly, for his nurturing would be still incomplete. As for the formal aspect of his obligations, he would be unable to fulfill the conditions of prayer, fasting, and pilgramage, for these are bodily deeds and require corporeal strength. As for the inward aspect of his obligations, until both the bodily frame and the soul have attained

[10]Qur'an, 86:7.
[11]Qur'an, 76:2.
[12]Compare the Tradition quoted on p. 110.
[13]Qur'an, 23:14.

perfection, the heart, which is the seat of the intellect, the source of faith, and the object of God's gaze, is not fitted to receive the manifestation of the lights of the intellect and of faith and of God's gaze, for its formation is still incomplete. Even though these lights gradually and continually appear in the heart, it will become properly and fully receptive of them only upon reaching maturity, when the intellect appears. This will be described in the chapter on the training of the heart, if God Almighty wills.

Now that you have learned in summary fashion what the soul is, listen to an indication of the means for its training and refinement. Know that the soul has two essential attributes, inherited from its mother, and that all other reprehensible attributes have their origin in these two and result from their action. These two essential attributes are passion and anger, and both derive from the properties of the four elements which are the mother of the soul. Passion is a downward inclination and tendency, and thus God says, "by the star when it declines,"[14] that is, "when it descends." It is also said that this verse refers to the return of the Prophet, upon whom be peace, from his ascension, and his descent to the lower from the higher world. This downward inclination and tendency is a property of water and earth. Anger, by contrast, is self-exaltation, arrogance, and dominance, these being the attributes of wind and fire. The two essential attributes of passion and anger are, then, inherited by the soul from its mother. They are also the substance of which hellfire is made and from them are derived the degrees of hell. Nonetheless, they must of necessity be present in the soul so that through passion it may attract benefit and through anger repel harm. Thus its being survives and is nurtured in the world of generation and corruption.

These two attributes must, however, be maintained in a state of equilibrium, for their deficiency would cause deficiency to both soul and body, and their excess cause deficiency to intellect and faith. Indeed, the refinement and training of the soul consists in restoring the attributes of anger and passion to a state of equilibrium, and the balance in which they are to be weighed is

[14]Qur'an, 53:1.

the code of the Law, observed in all matters. Then both soul and body will remain healthy, and intellect and faith will advance; and each of these will be used in its proper place, according to the command of the Law. In obedience to the Law, man should earnestly fear God, and not strive to seek dispensation,[15] for the Law and the fear of God are a balance which maintain the attributes in a state of equilibrium, preventing some from prevailing over others. Disequilibrium would be the state of animals and beasts of prey, for in animals the attribute of passion prevails over that of anger, and in beasts of prey the attribute of anger prevails over that of passion. Of necessity, animals are therefore given to greed and lust, and beasts of prey to conquest, wrath, and dominance, to killing and hunting.

The two attributes of passion and anger must then be maintained in a state of equilibrium, to avoid descent to the animal and bestial station, and to prevent the emergence of other reprehensible attributes. For if passion crosses the boundary of equilibrium, cupidity, greed, expectation, vileness, abjection, lust, miserliness, and treachery will appear. Equilibrium of passion consists in exercising the property of attracting benefit only to the extent of essential need, and only at the time of need. For if the soul desires more than it needs, cupidity will emerge; and if it desires before the time of need, greed will arise. If it desires to provide for the future, expectation will appear. If it desires something lowly and abominable, vileness and abjection will result. If it desires something elevated and pleasurable, lust will arise. If it desires to preserve something, miserliness will result. All this belongs to the category of profligacy, and "Truly He loves not the profligate."[16] And if the soul fears that spending may cause it to suffer poverty, cowardice will arise. If the attribute of passion is, by contrast, deficient and subjugated in man's original disposition, effeminacy, neutrality, and lowliness will result.

[15]"Dispensation" *(rokṣat):* "that which the Law has made conditional on contingencies; that which may be omitted in case of adequate excuse; that which takes into account conditions that may furnish an excuse" (Jorjānī, *Ketāb al-ta'rīfāt,* p. 115). An example of such "dispensation" is the provision of the Law whereby the traveler may postpone his fast in the month of Ramadan to a time when he has reestablished residence.

[16]Qur'an, 6:141.

If the attribute of anger passes the bounds of equilibrium, evilness of temper, arrogance, hostility, irritability, violence of disposition, obstinacy, tyranny, instability, mendacity, pride, boastfulness, self-exaltation, and rebelliousness will arise. And if anger cannot be expressed, rancor will appear in man's inner being. If the attribute of anger is, on the other hand, deficient and subjugated *ab initio,* lack of zeal, pride and honor, sloth, lowliness, and impotence will result. And if the attributes of passion and anger are both dominant, envy will emerge, because by virtue of the dominance of passion one will desire anything likable he sees in the possession of another, and by virtue of the dominance of anger he will not wish that person to enjoy its possession. Envy means that you desire to have what another possesses, and do not desire him to possess it.

Each of these reprehensible attributes is the origin of one of the degrees of hellfire, and when they gain mastery and dominance over the soul, its nature inclines to sinfulness and lewdness, to killing, plundering, and the inflicting of injury, and other kinds of corruption.

The angels, looking with angelic glance at the *malakūt* of Adam's frame, observed all these attributes and said: "Art Thou fashioning one who shall cause corruption and bloodshed?"[17] They did not know that when the elixir of the Law was applied to these reprehensible attributes—animal, bestial, and satanic—they would all become praiseworthy attributes—angelic, spiritual, and divine. Hence God Almighty said in answer to the angels: "Truly I know that which ye know not."[18]

The effect of the alchemy of the Law[19] is not, then, totally to

[17]Qur'an, 2:30.
[18]Qur'an, 2:30.
[19]The use of the word "alchemy" in connection with religion derives from a real and not figurative affinity between the two pursuits, for both have the purpose of redemption and transmutation. It might even be said that alchemy encroaches on the sphere of religion, in that it seeks to achieve not merely an outer transformation in the mineral realm, but also an inner one in man's spiritual realm, the former process serving as a support for the latter. The occurrence of the word "alchemy" in conjunction with the Law is particularly significant, for the function of the Law is seen by Dāya to lie in the establishment of an ideal equilibrium among the human attributes, just as Jāber sees the purpose of the alchemical work to be the attainment of an analogous equilibrium *(mīzān)* in metallic substances. See S. H. Nasr, *Science and Civilization in Islam* (Cambridge, Mass., 1968), pp. 261-267.

efface the reprehensible attributes, for that would result in deficiency. It is here that the philosophers have fallen into error, for they have imagined that attributes such as passion, anger, and lust must be completely destroyed. They have toiled for years to attain their goal, and succeeded only in diminishing the reprehensible attributes. From the resulting deficiency, other reprehensible attributes have in turn arisen, so that the negation of passion has resulted in effeminacy, neutrality, lowliness, and abjection, and deficiency of anger in lack of zeal, apathy in religion, lack of pride and of honor, and cowardice.

The property of the Law and the alchemy of religion is to restore each of these attributes to a state of equilibrium so that each is exercised in its proper place. Religion acts in such fashion that it prevails over the attributes, causing them to be submissive to it like a horse to its rider, and directing them wherever it wills. If the attributes were to prevail over religion so that it became their captive, borne off in whatever direction the soul desired, they would come to resemble a rebellious steed, helplessly casting itself and its rider into a pit or running into a wall, causing them both to perish.

Therefore, whenever through the effect of the elixir of the Law and of the fear of God the attributes of passion and anger are restored to a state of equilibrium in the soul, so that it can no longer exercise them except in accordance with the Law, praiseworthy attributes appear within the soul: shame, generosity, liberality, courage, forbearance, modesty, manliness, contentment, patience, gratitude, and other laudable characteristics. The soul will quit the station of commanding and come to that of tranquillity,[20] and become a mount for the pure spirit. Traversing the stages and stopping places of the lower and higher worlds, Borāq-like[21] it will bear the spirit to the elevation of the Highest of the High, to the lofty degree of the distance of Two Bowstrings,[22] and thus become fit to receive the summons of

[20]"Tranquillity" *(moṭma'ennagī)*: a noun formed from *moṭma'enna*, "tranquil," an epithet applied in Qur'an, 89:27, to the soul that has advanced in its work of refinement.

[21]Borāq: the mount that bore the Prophet from Jerusalem to heaven during his Me'rāj.

[22]Qur'an, 53:9. See also p. 55, n. 12, and p. 84, n. 33.

"return to thy Lord, well-pleased and well-pleasing."[23]

This feeble and powerless one says:

Once bestial temper turns from thy soul
The bird of thy spirit returns to the nest.
The vulturelike spirit strives to ascend,
Alights on the king's arm, and turns to a falcon.

The spirit, when returning to its proper world, has need of the Borāq of the soul, for it cannot go on foot. When it came to this world, it was mounted on the Borāq of the inhalation: "and I inhaled in him of My spirit."[24] Now, when it is to leave for the other world, it needs the Borāq of the soul to convey it to the extremity of the realm of the soul. The soul, in turn, has need of the two attributes of passion and anger in its journeying, for it cannot move either upward or downward without them.

The shaikhs—may God sanctify their spirits—have therefore said: "Were it not for passion, none would travel a path to God." For passion and anger are like two vultures for the Nemrod[25] of the soul. Their prey is in the upper world, and when he mounts them, they begin to ascend, taking the Nemrod of the lowly soul with them to high station.

The manner of this is the following: When the soul becomes assured, gains mastery over the two attributes of passion and anger, and experiences the taste of the summons "return,"[26] it will cause passion and anger to turn away from the lower to the higher world, so that the object of their desire will be nearness to God Almighty, not the pleasures of the animal and bestial

[23]Qur'an, 89:28.
[24]Qur'an, 15:29.
[25]Nemrod: the tyrant who tormented Abraham and ordered him cast on the fire. Although Nemrod's name does not occur in the Qur'an, 2:258 is generally regarded as referring to him: "Hast thou not seen the one who disputed with Abraham about his Lord, because God had granted him rule?" In the legend adapted from Judaic sources, Nemrod decides to scale the heavens and attempt deicide. Two vultures (or eagles) bear his litter aloft before he is cast down to death and disgrace (see Ṣa'ālebī, *Qeṣaṣ al-anbiyā* [Cairo, 1325/1907], pp. 45-49).
[26]Qur'an, 89:28.

world. When passion desires to ascend, it becomes all love and affection; and when anger strives upward, it becomes all zeal and high aspiration. The soul turns to the Divine Presence with love and affection, and in its zeal and high aspiration refuses to stop at any station or to pay attention to aught but the Almighty Presence. These two instruments, passion and anger, thus become the most complete means for the spirit's union with the Presence.

Earlier, when still in the world of spirits, the spirit was without these instruments, and was like the angels, satisfied with its own station. It was content to perceive a single light and glow from the candle of the Majesty of Unity—"naught from Us but has an appointed station"[27]—and dared not step beyond its own station, saying with Gabriel, "Were I to advance the breadth of a fingernail, I would be burned."[28] But when the spirit became acquainted with earth, the soul was born as the offspring of its union with the four elements, and from the soul were born two other children, passion and anger. Passion was extremely ignorant, anger extremely oppressive.[29] When the soul faced downward, these two, ignorant and oppressive, cast it to destruction, and the spirit which was their captive perished together with them. Now when divine grace attached itself to the soul as companion, and the wild steed of the soul was summoned to the upper world and the Almighty Presence with the lasso of the attraction of "return to thy Lord,"[30] the spirit, being an intelligent rider, wished like Gabriel to draw in the reins when he reached his appointed station. But the wild steed of the soul became like a mad moth with ignorance and oppressiveness, or passion and anger, as its two wings, and it hurled itself on the candle of the Majesty of Unity. It said farewell to figurative being and put its arm around the neck of union with the candle, so that the candle transformed its figurative moth being into its own true candle being.

This feeble one says:

[27]Qur'an, 37:164.
[28]See p. 142, n. 33.
[29]Concerning these qualities, see p. 64, and also p. 64, n. 13 and n. 16.
[30]Qur'an, 89:28.

O thou seated by the side of the candle,
  Content with a single ear of corn from its harvest!
Like the moth, place thy soul in thy palm,
  Then put thine arm around the neck of the candle.

Until the soul has completed its work of ignorance and oppressiveness, it is not possible to know it fully: what it is, for what purpose it has been created, and what task it is to fulfill at each station. When its work is seen to have attained perfection, and when in its mothlike madness it reaches the light-shedding candle—"I will be for him his hearing, his sight, and his tongue: through Me he shall hear, through Me he shall see, and through Me he shall speak"[31]—then shall the truth of "He who knows his soul knows his Lord"[32] be realized. That is, whoever knows his soul to be the moth knows God to be the candle.

Were it not for Thee, we would not know passion;
  And were it not for passion, we would not know Thee.

God's peace be upon Moḥammad and his family.

[31]*Ḥadīs̱ qodsī;* see al-Ḥaddādī, *al-Eṯḥāfāt al-sanīya,* p. 149.
[32]Tradition; see n. 4 above.

Seventh Chapter:

Concerning the Purification of the Heart in Accordance with the Code of the Path

God Almighty said: "Truly therein is a reminder for him who is possessed of a heart, or gives ear and witnesses."[1]

The Prophet, upon whom be God's peace and blessings, said: "There is in the body of the son of Adam a piece of flesh which, if it be sound, causes the rest of the body to be sound; and if it be corrupt, causes the rest of the body to be corrupt. This piece of flesh is the heart."[2]

Know that the relationship of the heart to the body is like that of God's Throne to the world. In the same way that the Throne is the place of manifestation for the repose of the attribute of compassion in the macrocosm, so too the heart is the place of manifestation for the repose of the attribute of spirituality in the microcosm. There is, however, this difference, that the Throne is unaware of the manifestation of the repose of the attribute of compassion, so that it is incapable of progressing to become the place of manifestation for the repose of other attributes; whereas the heart is possessed of awareness and is capable of so progressing.[3]

The Throne has been set apart by the manifestation of the repose of the attribute of compassion because it is the extremity of the world of bodies. It is an expanse that faces on the one hand the world of Dominion and on the other hand the world of bodies. When God Almighty's sustaining grace reaches the world of bodies, it is through the attribute of compassion. It is

[1]Qur'an, 50:37.

[2]Tradition recorded by Boḵārī, Moslem, Ebn Māja and Dāremī.

[3]This and the following paragraph are based on Qur'an, 20:5 ("and the Compassionate One reposed upon the Throne"). While seeking to avoid the twin dangers of anthropomorphism and abstractionism, Sufi commentators have explained the verse as indicating the "centrality" of the attribute of compassion; like the Throne that is its locus, it is simultaneously the motionless core of creation and also the "substance" that flowing forth ceaselessly from the Throne encompasses, penetrates, and sustains each atom of the cosmos. See Ḥaqqī, *Rūḥ al-bayān*, V, pp. 263–265. Concerning the Throne, see p. 84, n. 25.

for this reason that one says, in supplication, "O Thou Whose compassion encompasses the world," for all of creation benefits from the attribute of compassion, whether friend or stranger, animate or inanimate.

It has been said that "compassionate" *(raḥmān)* is a special name and a general attribute, while "merciful" *(raḥīm)* is a general name and a special attribute. The name "Compassionate" cannot be applied to any other than God, and all creatures benefit from the attribute "compassionate": "There is naught in the heavens and earth but comes to the Compassionate as bondsman."[4] The word *raḥmān* is formed on the paradigm *fa'lān,* indicating emphasis. Conversely, the name "merciful" can be applied to anyone, for it is a general name, but none benefit from the attribute "merciful" except the people of mercy: "truly God's mercy is nigh unto the beneficent."[5]

When some part of the grace of the attribute of compassion is dispatched to the world of bodies, the first body to receive it is the Throne, for it is the closest of all bodies to the world of Dominion. One of its faces is turned toward the world of Dominion, and it is by means of this that it receives God's grace. It is also by way of the Throne that the grace is distributed, for the Throne is connected with all corporeal beings by a series of channels that conduct the sustaining grace to each class of being. This flow of grace is continuous and makes possible the survival and permanence of all beings; were the sustenance it provides to be interrupted for a single moment, nothing could remain in existence. This is the inner meaning of "Everything shall perish but His face."[6] Since the Throne was fitted to receive the sustaining grace of the attribute of compassion, it was honored with "the Compassionate reposed on the Throne,"[7] although unaware of this high fortune.

Similarly, one face of the human heart is turned to the world of spirituality, and the other face to the world of the bodily

[4]Qur'an, 19:94.
[5]Qur'an, 7:55.
[6]Qur'an, 28:88.
[7]Qur'an, 20:5.

frame. It is for this reason that the heart is called *qalb,*[8] for it contains within itself two worlds, corporeal and spiritual, and constantly turns from one to the other. All sustaining grace received from the spirit is distributed by the heart; delicate veins connect it with each member and serve as channels for the grace of the spirit. Thus all grace received by the heart is distributed by it in such manner that each member receives a fitting share. Were the sustenance of that grace to be severed from the heart, even for an instant, the bodily frame would stop functioning and all life would cease. Likewise, if its sustenance were to be severed from a member on account of some obstacle in the veins that are the channels of grace, the member would be unable to move and would be paralyzed.

It is thus clear that the relation of the heart to the microcosm is the same as that of the Throne to the macrocosm. The heart, however, has a property and a nobility that the Throne does not possess, for the heart is aware of receiving the effusion of the grace of the spirit, while the Throne has no such awareness. For the grace of the spirit reaches the heart in the form of attributes, and the attributes of the spirit bestow upon the heart life, knowledge, and intelligence, so that the heart is able to perceive grace. In like manner, the light of the sun, which is also its attribute, may pour into a room. The room will then be illumined with the flowing light of the sun, and light will appear in it, so that it acquires the attributes of the sun with respect to luminosity.

By contrast, the grace of the attribute of compassion comes to the Throne only as action and power, not as an attribute. The Throne is sustained thereby, and bestows upon all beings a trace of the action and power it has received, sustaining them in turn. Life does not appear in them, however, nor does knowledge or gnosis, which are the attributes of God. Similarly, when the sun pours down the attribute of luminosity on a mountain, the mountain acquires the attribute of luminosity. But when the

[8]The Arabic triliteral root QLB from which *qalb* is derived has the sense of "turning, revolving, inverting." This etymological explanation of the word *qalb* —one strengthened by the *ḥadīṣ* quoted on p. 219—had already been offered by Najm al-Dīn Kobrā; see Meier's introduction to *Fawā'iḥ al-Jamāl wa Fawātiḥ al-Jalāl,* p. 168.

mountain in turn bestows this light upon the ruby and agate within the mine, through its own workings and effects, the ruby and agate do not acquire the sun's attribute of luminosity, and react instead to the workings of the sun by acquiring the attributes of ruby and agate, respectively.[9]

Furthermore, when the heart is purified in accordance with the code of the Path, it has the capacity to become the place of repose of the attribute of compassion, in the same way that it is the place of repose of the attribute of spirituality. Indeed, when through nurturing, purification, and direction toward God it reaches perfection, it becomes the locus for the manifestation of all the attributes of divinity. Naught but the heart in all creation, including the Throne, is capable of supporting the rays of the manifestation of a single light from a single divine attribute. When the manifestation touched Mount Sinai, the mountain was shattered.[10]

It is related of the Prophet, upon whom be peace, that he stretched out the tip of his little finger and laid the tip of his index finger across it and said: "This was the amount of the manifestation of God's light when Mount Sinai was shattered" —that is, the amount of half the tip of a little finger.

There are, however, certain of God's servants who attain perfection of the heart after purifying and training their hearts through following the Master of the First and the Last; and then the oceans of light of the attributes of beauty and splendor[11] of

[9]This somewhat obscure passage appears to mean that the heart, imbued with the attribute of compassion, is able to endow with it the microcosm at the center of which it lies, in addition to further attributes. The Throne, by contrast, endows the macrocosm with the attribute of compassion alone, without any additional attribute; at the most it merely elicits the inherent attributes of things.

[10]See Qur'an, 7:143: "When his Lord manifested Himself to the mountain, He made it as dust, and Moses fell in a swoon."

[11]The divine names and attributes are frequently divided by Sufi writers into the two categories of beauty *(jamāl)* and splendor *(jalāl)*, these two qualities forming "poles" of complementarity within manifestation. To the category of beauty belong, for example, merciful *(raḥīm)*, oft-forgiving *('afūw)*, loving *(wadūd)*; while to that of splendor belong just *('adl)*, vengeful *(montaqem)*, wrathful *(qahhār)*, etc. The duality of beauty and splendor is to be found in the teaching of so early a Sufi as Ẕu'l-Nūn Meṣrī (d. 245/859); see Annemarie Schimmel, *Mystical Dimensions of Islam* (Chapel Hill, 1975), p. 44.

God Almighty and Exalted will be made manifest to their hearts several times in the course of a single night and day. This they will be able to support through God's grace.

What, now, is the heart; wherein lies its purification; how is it to be trained, and how to attain perfection?

Know that the heart has an outer form described by the Prophet, upon whom be peace, as a lump of flesh. The possession of this lump of flesh is common to all creatures, including the animals. It is shaped like a pine cone and is situated on the left of the body, beneath the breast. The fleshly heart of man has, however, a spiritual animus within it which the heart of animals does not. Furthermore, this animus of the heart, when brought to the station of purity, is seen to contain within it another heart, derived from the light of love and not possessed by everyone. Thus God said: "Truly therein is a reminder for him who is possessed of a heart."[12] That is, the one who has a heart enjoys familiarity with God. God did not affirm that everyone possesses a heart, for what is intended here is the true heart, which we call the heart of the animus or simply heart. Thus it has been said:

> The vein of the spirit was pierced with love's lancet tip;
> A drop fell down, and they called it the heart.[13]

The heart may be in a state of soundness or corruption. Soundness of the heart consists in its purity and corruption in its impurity; and purity of the heart lies in the health of its senses, and impurity of the heart in the illness and sickness of its senses. For the heart has five senses, like those of the bodily frame, and as the soundness of the bodily frame consists in the health of its five senses, by means of which it perceives all the manifest world, so too is the case with the heart. When it is in a state of health, it perceives with its five senses the entirety of the unseen world—inner essences and spiritual realities. The heart has an eye with which it beholds visions of the unseen; an ear with

[12] Qur'an, 50:37.
[13] The second line of a quatrain by Afżal al-Dīn Kāšānī previously quoted on p. 100.

which it listens to the speech of the inhabitants of the unseen, and the speech of God; nostrils with which it smells the perfumes of the unseen; and a palate with which it perceives the taste of love, the sweetness of faith, and the savor of gnosis. And as the sense of touch is distributed among all the members of the bodily frame, so that it may through all of them gain benefit from tactile objects, so too is the intelligence present throughout the heart, so that it may in its entirety gain benefit from all intelligibilia by means of the intelligence.

If the senses of the heart are healthy, then the soundness of the heart itself and the salvation of the body are secure. But if the senses of the heart are sick, then corruption of the heart and ruin of the entire body will ensue. Thus it is that the Prophet, upon whom be peace, said: "There is in the body of the son of Adam a piece of flesh which, if it be sound, causes the rest of the body to be sound; and if it be corrupt, causes the rest of the body to be corrupt. This piece of flesh is the heart."[14] God Almighty expresses the same truth in the Qur'an, that whosoever maintains the senses of the heart in a state of health will gain salvation and the lofty degrees of Paradise: "Save he who bringeth to God a sound heart."[15] Conversely, if the senses of a heart are diseased, the possessor of that heart has been created for hellfire: "Truly We have created for hellfire many of the jinn and mankind: they have hearts whereby they do not understand, eyes whereby they do not see, and ears whereby they do not hear."[16] And elsewhere in the Qur'an God says, "Deaf, dumb, and blind—they comprenend not";[17] and, "It is not their sight that is blinded, rather the hearts within their breasts."[18] There are many similar verses in the Qur'an.

The purification of the heart consists, then, in the health of its senses, and its training in turning toward the Divine Presence and repudiating all other than God.

[14]Tradition quoted at the beginning of this chapter.
[15]Qur'an, 26:89.
[16]Qur'an, 7:178.
[17]Qur'an, 2:166.
[18]Qur'an, 22:46.

O heart, cast away life for the friend's sake!
Nay, what is life? Let it be both worlds!
Let me not say, "this cast away, or that";
Whatever be dear to you, that cast away.

Thus when Abraham, upon whom be peace, looked upon other than God, he called himself sick—"He gazed at the stars and said, 'I am ailing.'"[19] When through God he was cured of that disease—"When I ail He cures me"[20]—he turned toward the Divine Presence and repudiated all other than God, saying: "I am free of that which ye associate with God; I have set my face to Him Who has created the heavens and the earth."[21]

Know further that the heart has different aspects, each containing numerous wonders and countless truths for the exposition of which many books would not suffice. Emām Abū Ḥāmed Ḡazālī—may God sanctify his spirit—has composed a book on the wonders of the heart without encompassing even a tenth of them.[22] Here, a brief indication of each will be given, God willing.

Know that the heart in man is like the heavens, and his body like the earth, for the sun of the spirit shines on the earth of the bodily frame from the heavens of the heart, illumining it with the light of life. As the earth has seven climes and the heavens have seven spheres, the bodily frame has seven members and the heart seven aspects, corresponding to the seven spheres of the heavens—"and He created you in stages and aspects."[23] And as each clime of the earth has a certain property, causing certain species to flourish in it that are not found in the other climes, so too each member of the human body has a certain property, from which proceeds a certain kind of act that does not proceed from the other members. Thus vision proceeds from the eye, hearing from the ear, speech from the tongue, grasping from the hand, and walking from the foot, none being able to perform the

[19]Qur'an, 37:88.
[20]Qur'an, 26:80.
[21]Qur'an, 6:79.
[22]This book—*Ketāb šarḥ 'ajā'eb al-qalb*—is part of the great theologian and mystic's masterpiece, *Eḥyā' 'olūm al-dīn* (it is to be found on pp. 2-47 of Vol. III of the undated Cairo edition).
[23]Qur'an, 71:14.

function of another. Similarly, as each sphere of the heavens is the seat of a planet, the seven spheres being the seat of seven planets, each aspect of the heart is the mine for a different kind of jewel—"Men are mines, like mines of gold and silver."[24]

The first aspect of the heart is called the breast, and is the mine in which is found the jewel of Islam: "He whose breast God has expanded unto Islam enjoys a light from his Lord."[25] When it is deprived of the light of Islam, the breast becomes a mine of darkness and unbelief—"but he whose breast was expanded unto unbelief"[26]—and the seat of satanic whisperings and the enticements of the soul—"who whispers in the breasts of men."[27] Of the aspects of the heart, it is only the breast that, being as it were the skin of the heart, can thus become the seat of whisperings and enticements, for these have no access to the interior of the heart. For the heart is God's treasury and resembles the heavens, where whisperings and enticements have no access: "We have guarded them against every accursed devil."[28]

The second aspect of the heart is called *qalb,* and is the mine of faith—"He inscribed faith in their hearts."[29] It is the seat of the light of the intellect—"They have hearts whereby they comprehend"[30]—and also of vision—"It is not their sight that is blinded, rather the hearts within their breasts."[31]

The third aspect is the pericardium, which is the mine of affection, love, and compassion toward mankind—"he smote her

[24]Tradition previously quoted on p. 28.

[25]Qur'an, 39:22. In treating the breast *(ṣadr)* as an aspect of the heart and not merely as its casing, Dāya follows an earlier Sufi who also concerned himself with the morphology of the inner being—al-Ḥakīm al-Termeẕī (d. c. 320/932). See his *Bayān al-farq bayn al-ṣadr wa'l-qalb wa'l-fo'ād wa'l-lobb,* ed. Nicholas Heer (Cairo, 1378/1958), pp. 40–46.

[26]Qur'an, 16:106.

[27]Qur'an, 114:5.

[28]Qur'an, 15:17.

[29]Qur'an, 58:22. The expression "the mine of faith" is also used by al-Ḥakim al-Termeẕī *(Bayān al-farq,* p. 53), which further suggests that Dāya was drawing on his work.

[30]Qur'an, 22:46.

[31]Qur'an, 22:46.

heart with love"[32]—and the love of mankind does not pass beyond the pericardium.

The fourth aspect is called the *fo'ād,* and is the mine of witnessing and the seat of vision—"The *fo'ād* did not lie concerning what it saw."[33]

The fifth aspect is known as the grain[34] of the heart, and is the mine of love for the Divine Presence. It belongs to the elect who have no room in them for the love of any created being. Thus it is said:

> I have no room for the desire of another;
> My head has no room for the thought of another.

The sixth aspect is known as the core[35] of the heart, and is the mine of unveilings of the unseen and of God-given knowledge.[36] It is the source of wisdom, the treasure house of divine secrets, and the seat of knowledge of the names—"and He taught Adam the names, all of them."[37] In the core of the heart, species of knowledge are unveiled in which the angels have no share.

This writer says:

> O thou whose grief snatched reason from my heart,
> Whose pain put up for sale the dwelling of my heart!
> That mystery denied all the angels sanctified
> Thy love softly whispered in the ear of my heart.

[32]Qur'an, 12:30. The noun *šaġaf* ("pericardium") is nearly identical with the verb *šaġafa* ("he smote with love").

[33]Qur'an, 53:13. No word suggests itself as a translation for *fo'ād,* which is conventionally rendered as "heart" but is here merely an aspect of the heart, its organ of vision. See Dāya's commentary on the verse in question (in Ḥaqqī, *Rūḥ al-bayān,* IX, pp. 22–223), and al-Termeẕī, *Bayān al-farq,* p. 62 ("know that the *fo'ād* is the locus of vision; it sees, while the *qalb* knows").

[34]Grain of the heart *(ḥabbat al-qalb):* this fifth aspect of the heart, like the sixth and seventh aspects, is not suggested by any Qur'anic verse, nor, to my knowledge, is it mentioned by Dāya's predecessors in the analysis of the heart.

[35]Core of the heart *(soveydā):* literally, "small black (spot)."

[36]Concerning "God-given knowledge" *('elm ladonnī),* see p. 246.

[37]Qur'an, 2:31.

The seventh aspect is called the blood[38] of the heart, and is the mine for the appearance of the lights of the manifestation of the divine attributes. This is the hidden meaning of "We have ennobled the sons of Adam,"[39] for this nobility was not conferred on any other species of being.

The perfect purity of the heart lies in its attaining complete health and soundness, and quitting entirely the misfortune of the sickness of "in their hearts is a sickness."[40] The sign of the heart's health is that each of the aspects we have enumerated should engage in its proper function of worship; be defined by the properties of the truths inherent in it, in accordance with divine command and the path of obedience; and observe the conditions and customs of servitude in the manner appropriate to it.

The bodily frame has been commanded to prostrate itself on seven members: "I was commanded to prostrate myself on seven members."[41] Likewise, the heart must prostrate itself with all seven of its aspects. Its prostration consists in averting its gaze from all created beings; turning away from the enjoyments of this world and the hereafter; directing itself with all its being to the Divine Presence; asking of God nothing but God; and placing its head on the threshold of servitude, with all seven aspects.

> O heart, thou art prostrate a thousandfold before
> His cheek;
> No true prayer is the body's prostration.

In the beginning, the heart passes through infancy and is afflicted by illness. It does not attain its true attributes until by training it reaches maturity and is fully cured and restored to health. The heart may be trained through the inner meaning of the Law, and this it is that they call the Path. Its health may be secured by judicious treatment and the use of medicines, the

[38]Blood of the heart *(mohjat al-qalb):* Ḡazālī speaks of a "black blood" in the ventricle of the corporeal heart as being the source of the spirit (*Eḥyā' 'olūm al-dīn*, III, p. 3).
[39]Qur'an, 17:70.
[40]Qur'an, 5:55.
[41]Tradition recorded by Dāremī, and, with a somewhat different wording, by Abū Dā'ūd, Nasā'ī, Ebn Māja and Ebn Ḥanbal.

code of the Qur'an being replete with the exposition of such treatment and the description of such medicine: "We send down from the Qur'an that which is a cure and a mercy for the believers."[42]

There are differences among the skilled physicians of the heart in their methods of treatment. Each of them begins treatment in a different fashion, but none of them steps outside the code of the Qur'an. Some strive for the refinement and transformation of morals, treating each attribute of the soul—each reprehensible attribute—with its opposite, so that the attribute become praiseworthy. For it has been said, "Cure is effected by opposites."[43]

Thus, when they desire to remove the attribute of miserliness, which is a form of illness, and to transform it into the good health of generosity, they treat it with lavishness and munificence. They cure the attribute of anger with endurance, forbearance, and the suppression of wrath, and transform the attribute of greed with asceticism, abandonment of the world, solitude, and withdrawal. So too, gluttony is cured with hunger and a decrease in food, and lust with the abandonment of pleasure and an abundance of ascetic striving and exercise. Each attribute is thus cured with its opposite, just as the physician of the bodily form repels heat with cold portions, and coldness with warm electuaries.

This method is reasonable and appropriate, but whole lifetimes are spent in changing a single attribute, and even then it is not transformed in its entirety. For the attributes are essential to man's nature—"there is no changing God's creation"[44]—and each attribute must exist in its proper place. The purpose is not totally to remove the attributes.

It is here that the philosophers fell into error. They devoted their lives to transformation of the attributes; without considering it necessary to follow the prophets, they imagined that the gaze of the intellect was enough to effect the cure. They were

[42]Qur'an, 17:82.
[43]See Nasr, *Science and Civilization in Islam*, p. 220.
[44]Qur'an, 30:30.

unaware of any of the faculties of the heart that we have enumerated except the intellect, and fancied that the intellect is everything, although it is itself subject to the harmful influence of the reprehensible and bestial attributes. It is only when these attributes are transformed into praiseworthy and angelic attributes that man attains perfection. The philosophers wished to accomplish the transformation by means of the gaze of the intellect, saying: "We who are endowed with knowledge and intellect, what need do we have of following the prophets? Only the ignorant and weak of intellect stand in need of the prophets." They did not know that man has other faculties beyond the intellect, a thousand times nobler than the intellect, such as the true heart, the mystery, the spirit, and the arcane.[45] These faculties can be neither conceived nor nurtured by the intellect, for the intellect is in the first place incapable of perceiving its own state, and is itself ill and sick. It has been said that "The sight of the ill is itself sick," and also that "The physician who would cure others is himself ill." In truth, the philosophers all need the lawgiving physician to prescribe the correct cure for each of them, in accordance with the code of the Law. When the eye of vision of some of the people of misguidance was closed with the blindfold of wretchedness, they were deprived of seeing the properties of the Law and the profound reason for the sending of the prophets. Thus they looked upon the Law with scorn and derision and became arrogant on account of the pleasure they took in the wandering gaze of the intellect. Of necessity, God Almighty says with respect to their intellect and its gaze: "God derides them, leaving them to wander in their insolence."[46]

Then there are those who devote their lives to the transformation of attributes and to ascetic striving in accordance with the code of the Law. But if for a single instant they neglect to keep watch on their soul, it will immediately leap forth, shake off the bridle, and head for its familiar pastures. Indeed, the more tightly the dog of the soul is chained, the hungrier it becomes, and whenever it is freed from the bonds of ascetic exercise, its lust and greed will be seen to have increased. This is the case with all the attributes. If one wishes to proceed in this fashion

[45]Concerning the mystery and the arcane, see p. 134, n. 9.
[46]Qur'an, 2:15.

with the stations and attributes of the heart, a lifetime will not suffice to wayfare truly in one station or attribute, for as soon as one begins to nurture one attribute, another will suffer loss. The task cannot be achieved merely through ascetic striving.

Once Ḥoseyn b. Manṣūr saw Ebrāhīm K̲awwāṣ[47] and asked him, "In what station are you wayfaring?" He answered, "I have been mortifying my soul for thirty years in the station of reliance." Ḥoseyn said, "So you have spent your life on the cultivation of your inner being; but how far have you advanced to effacement in God?" The lovers have one path, and the ascetics another.

Not this alone, another tongue do we have;
  Not heaven and hell alone, another place do we have.
Drunkenness and dissipation—such is love's capital;
  Devotions and asceticism—to another world
    they belong.[48]

The path of our shaikhs—may God sanctify their spirits and be pleased with them—consists in striving first to purify the heart, not to transform the attributes. For once purity of the heart has been achieved and true direction to God has been attained, the heart becomes receptive to God's sustaining grace. From the effect of this grace, in a single instant, transformations will occur in the attributes of the soul that a whole lifetime of ascetic striving and exercise would fail to produce. And since this state is attained through God's grace, it will observe the limit of equilibrium and the path of correctness; whereas that which is attained by ascetic striving and exercise differs in its results and must be struck against the touchstone of the Law to prevent disorder, mischief, and harm from occurring.

The condition for the purification of the heart is that it should

[47]Ebrāhīm K̲āwwāṣ (d. 291/904): an early Sufi noted for his exacting practice of reliance on God *(tavvakol)* on solitary journeys through the desert. See the references to him in Benedikt Reinert, *Die Lehre vom tawakkul in der klassischen Sufik* (Berlin, 1968), especially pp. 167–170 and 200–203. Dāya's anecdote of his meeting with Ḥoseyn b. Manṣūr Ḥallāj is derived from Hojvīrī, *Kašf al-maḥjūb*, p. 221.

[48]Quatrain by Abū Sa'īd b. Abu'l-K̲eyr; see Moḥammad b. Monavvar, *Asrār al-towḥīd*, p. 339.

first achieve complete outward detachment, through abandonment of the world, withdrawal, and isolation from men and from all that instinctual nature is accustomed to, and the renunciation of power and property. Then it will reach the station of separation, that is, separation of the inner being from all objects of love and desire other than God.

Then the true nature of the affirmation of unity will become apparent, this being the inward meaning of "Know that there is no god but God."[49] For affirmation of the unity has several stations, pertaining to faith,[50] certainty,[51] beneficence,[52] vision,[53] and essence.[54] Until all these have been assimilated, it is impossible to attain unicity,[55] and until unicity has been assimilated it is impossible to attain oneness,[56] which is the shore of the ocean of unity.[57] A description of these stations would be prolix.

None of these stations of the affirmation of unity is to be attained through the transformation of characteristics, but only through purification of the heart and directing it toward God.

[49]Qur'an, 47:19.

[50]Faith *(īmān):* i.e., the initial assent of the heart and the tongue to the elementary doctrines of religion; the first stage of belief (Jorjānī, *Ketāb al-ta'rīfāt,* p. 41).

[51]Certainty *(īqān):* "knowledge of the essence of a thing after gazing upon it and deducing conclusions" (Jorjānī, *Ketāb al-ta'rīfāt,* pp. 41-42).

[52]Beneficence *(eḥsān):* see p. 126, n. 13.

[53]Vision *('ayān):* the common sense of this word, which does not appear to be part of the technical vocabulary of Sufism, is immediate and untramelled perception by means of the physical eye.

[54]Essence *('eyn):* what is intended here by Dāya may be *'eyn al-yaqīn,* the "essence of certainty," defined by Jorjānī as "that bestowed by witnessing and unveiling" *(Ketāb al-ta'rīfāt,* p. 166).

[55]Unicity *(vaḥdānīyat):* it would appear that what Dāya intends by this term is equivalent to *vāḥedīyat*—i.e., unity in multiplicity; the unity that is perceptible behind the multiplicity of the attributes and their manifestation. See Titus Burckhardt, *Vom Sufitum: Einführung in die Mystik des Islam* (Munich, 1953), pp. 60-61; and Mir Valiuddin, *Qur'anic Sufism* (Delhi, 1959), pp. 96-97.

[56]Oneness *(vaḥdat):* unity in its mathematical sense; God's being "when naught else was" and His being known only to Himself (Valiuddin, *Qur'anic Sufism,* pp. 93-96).

[57]Unity *(aḥadīyat):* the state of abstract unity, utter unknownness and unknowability; being nonmanifest, totally hidden and devoid of all attribute (Valiuddin, *Qur'anic Sufism,* pp. 91-93).

When the *morīd*[58] has, in accordance with his capacity, completed the tasks of outward detachment and inner separation, let him proceed, for the purification of his heart, to the practice of continuous retreat and constant *ẕekr*.[59] In retreat his outer senses will cease functioning and his heart will be severed from the harmful influence of sense objects, for the darkness and veils that surround the heart derive largely from the operation of the senses on sense objects.

> All harm comes to the heart from the eye's gaze;
> When the eye saw her, the heart was ensnared.

When the harmful effect of the senses has been checked, there still remain satanic whisperings and urgings of the soul to darken and disturb the heart. Their path can be blocked by the constant practice of *ẕekr* and the expulsion of stray thoughts,[60] as will be explained in the chapter on the need for the invocation of *lā elāha ellā'llāh,*[61] God Almighty willing.

Once delivered from the tribulations of the soul and of Satan, by the light of *ẕekr* and the expulsion of stray thoughts, the heart may turn to its own states and experience the taste of *ẕekr,* for the tongue now passes the task of *ẕekr* on to the heart. The property of *ẕekr* will begin to remove from the heart all the darkness and veiling that had afflicted it as a result of the workings of Satan and the soul and had become rooted in it. When the darkness and veiling decrease, the light of *ẕekr* will shine upon the jewel of the heart, and trembling and fear will arise in the heart—"The believers are those whose hearts tremble when God

[58]*Morīd:* one who embarks on the Sufi path under the guidance of a shaikh. We have chosen to retain the word in its original instead of translating it as "disciple," because the *morīd* is concerned with the application of his will *(erādat)* to the practice of a spiritual method, whereas the word disciple implies the intellectual assimilation of a doctrine. See p. 255.

[59]*Ẕekr:* the remembrance and invocation of God, persistently ordained throughout the Qur'an. Because of the multiple reverberations of meaning of the word, and because it is one of the quintessentially Islamic terms that resist successful translation, we have chosen to use *ẕekr* also in its original.

[60]Stray thoughts *(ḵavāṭer):* concerning *ḵavāṭer* and their varieties, see p. 281 and p. 281, n. 9.

[61]Third Part, Twelfth Chapter.

is invoked."[62] Later, when the heart is watered with *zekr,* all hardness departs from it, and softness and gentleness appear—"Then their hearts and skins are softened to the invocation of God."[63]

When one persists in *zekr,* the monarch of *zekr* conquers the realm of the heart and expels from it all that is not the remembrance of God and the love of God, appointing the mystery[64] to be guard over the heart.

The mystery sat holding the curtain at the heart's door,
Denying entry to all but His remembrance.

When the monarch of *zekr* has settled in the realm of the heart, the heart gives him its trust and affection, shying away from all others: "Those who believe and whose hearts find assurance in the invocation of God; is it not in the invocation of God that hearts find assurance?"[65] As long as the monarch finds in the heart the memory and love of any creature, he knows that the heart is still afflicted by darkness and sickness, and that these must be removed by the lustration of *lā elāha ellā'llāh* and the potion of negation of all other than God. Only then does the heart become able to receive the impress of the Word, and the adornment of the jewel of *zekr.* No thought will remain other than God, all else will be burned, and the light of *zekr* and the jewel of the Word[66] will take the place of all fixed impressions. Shaikh Majd al-Dīn[67] says, may God sanctify his blessed spirit:

If the heart be aware of the world's good and evil,
Its arm is too short to touch and to change them.
One heart there was, a thousand thoughts filling it;
Now, naught but *lā elāha ellā'llāh!*

Then it is that the monarch of love sends down his royal

[62] Qur'an, 8:2.
[63] Qur'an, 39:23.
[64] Concerning the mystery, see p. 134, n. 9.
[65] Qur'an, 13:30.
[66] By the Word is meant *lā elāha ellā'llāh* ("there is no god but God"). See p. 93, n. 62.
[67] Concerning Shaikh Majd al-Dīn Baḡdādī, see introduction, pp. 8-9.

standard to the city of the heart, to be planted at the juncture of the paths of the heart, the spirit, the soul, and the body. He commands the lieutenant of longing to bind the libertine soul with the rope of pain, to place the noose of seeking on its neck, and to bring it to the execution place of the heart. There, at the foot of the royal standard of love, he severs its passion-filled head with the sword of *ẕekr* and impales it on the tree of sincerity. Those satanic thieves that were the accomplices of the soul will hear of this, and seeing the royal chastisement thus inflicted, will evacuate the city of the body and betake themselves from the kingdom.

> When the sovereign's standard enters the city
> Turmoil and tumult are seen there no more.

All the libertine rabble—the reprehensible attributes of the soul—will then in their powerlessness take up knife and shroud and entering by the door of surrender and servitude say: "'O Lord, we have wronged ourselves';[68] if thou art a butcher, then kill us; and if thou art a king, then forgive us and spare us."

> Again I have come to thy door, my hands steeped in blood;
> Here is my head, and here the sword—do what thou wilt!

The monarch of love causes all the libertine rabble to repent of their sinfulness and impurity, covers their shoulders with the cloak of honor of servitude, and appoints them as commanders of the guard at the court of the heart. For they have now been reformed and reconciled, and it was this that was sought of them.

> The beloved has been reconciled; 'tis thus it should be!
> Her infidelity has turned to faith; 'tis thus it should be![69]

Once the city of the body has been purified of the turmoil of the satanic libertines and the tumult of the rabble, it is fit to become the court of the beauty of the eternal besoughtness.[70] Like-

[68]Qur'an, 7:22.

[69]Line from a poem by Sanā'ī previously quoted on p. 122.

[70]Eternal besoughtness *(ṣamadīyat):* a noun formed from the attribute *ṣamad,* it is mentioned here because of its juxtaposition to *aḥad* (see n. 57 above) in Qur'an, 112:1-2. Concerning the inner relation between these two attributes, see Ḥaqqī, *Rūh al-bayān,* X, 538.

wise, once the mirror of the heart is cleansed of the rust of instinctual nature, it becomes fit to receive the rays of the sun of the beauty of the oneness.

Then the monarch of love will be appointed lieutenant, and the minister of intellect will be made doorkeeper at the heart's door. The city of the heart will be adorned with ornament, with the pearls and the jewels of certainty, sincerity, reliance, truthfulness, nobility, generosity, manliness, liberality, munificence, shame, courage, chivalry, and other praiseworthy attributes and desirable characteristics. What do these preparations mean? That the true monarch is coming to the secluded pavilion of the heart, and that the original beloved is revealing her beauty from behind the veil of splendor. Once more the footman of *lā elāha* clears the court, this time even of the praiseworthy attributes, for jealous honor will not permit others to be present. The heart, burning for long with love's flame and abiding like Jacob in the breast's house of sorrows, is now about to illumine its eye with the beauty of Joseph, and transform its house of sorrows with that same beauty into a rose garden. It will abandon sorrow for joy, oppression for good fortune, and exchange the wretchedness of separation for the splendor of union.

I saw thy cheek, and not a trace of sorrow remained;
Other than servitude to thy face, no path remained.
To my heart I then said, "Now request thy desire,"
But the heart answered, "No desire has remained."

At this station the heart has attained its true nature as heart, and recovered its original health and purity. Those attributes of the soul which could not have been transformed by whole lifetimes of dry ascetic striving have been totally transmuted by the alchemy of *ẕekr,* watchfulness of the heart, and its direction toward God, and they have lowered their heads in submission. For here the taskmaster was not the heart or the spirit, causing some of the attributes to submit to the exclusion of others. Rather, it was the imperious monarch of "all faces shall be humbled before Him, the Living, the Self-subsistent"[71] that cleared the court of the heart from the tumult of intruders and

[71]Qur'an, 20:111.

made it His unique throneroom, for "The earth does not contain Me, and the heavens do not contain Me; only the heart of My believing bondsman contains me."[72] Then the command of God prevails over all the members and attributes—"God has full power over His affairs"[73]—and no member or attribute is able to function in accordance with instinctual nature, but only in accord with God's command and indication: "I shall be his hearing, his sight, his tongue and his hand; by Me he shall hear, by Me he shall see, by Me he shall speak, and by Me he shall strike."[74]

At this station the heart becomes the place of manifestation for all the attributes of God. Since the attributes of God are of two kinds, those of favor and those of wrath,[75] the heart becomes the place of manifestation for both, and God Almighty will manifest Himself in the heart at times with the attributes of grace, and at other times with the attributes of wrath. Thus the heart will be continually subject to the alternating manifestation of these two classes of attribute. For this reason the Prophet, upon whom be peace, said: "The heart of the believer is held between two of the fingers of the Compassionate, and He turns it as He wills."[76] He mentioned God with His attribute of compassion, not with His attribute of divinity, because the heart is the place of repose of the attribute of compassion, as we said at the beginning.

And God's blessings be upon Moḥammad and all his family.

[72]*Ḥadīs̱ qodsī* recorded by Ṭabarānī.

[73]Qur'an, 12:21.

[74]*Ḥadīs̱ qodsī* akin to that quoted on p. 55, n. 16.

[75]Favor *(loṭf)* and wrath *(qahr):* two alternative designations for the "poles" in the divine attributes (see n. 11 above), favor corresponding to beauty and wrath to splendor.

[76]Tradition previously alluded to on p. 203.

Eighth Chapter:
Concerning the Adornment of the Spirit in Accordance with the Code of the Truth

God Almighty said: "They will ask thee concerning the spirit; say, 'the spirit is of my Lord's Command.'"[1]

The Prophet, upon whom be peace and blessings, said: "Spirits are like armies drawn up: Those that are familiar to each other join together; and those that are unknown to each other come into conflict."[2]

Know that the human spirit belongs to the world of Command, and is set apart by a proximity to God that no other creature enjoys, as was explained in preceding chapters.[3]

The world of Command consists of a world which is subject to neither amount, quantity, nor measure, by contrast with the world of Creation, which is subject to these. The name of Command was given to the world of spirits because it came into being upon the command "be!"[4] with neither temporal delay nor material intermediary. The world of Creation also came into being upon the command "be!" but through the intermediary of matter and the extension of days—"He created the heavens and the earth in six days."[5] In God's saying "Say, 'the spirit is of my Lord's command,'"[6] there is an indication that the spirit arose from the *kāf* and the *nūn* of the summons *kon,*[7] in all its wondrous nature, with neither matter nor substance. Its life it derived from the attribute of "He, the living,"[8] and its subsistence from His attribute of self-subsisting.[9] The spirit is itself the matter

[1]Qur'an, 17:85.
[2]Tradition quoted in part on p. 150 above.
[3]See Second Part, Fifth Chapter.
[4]Cf. Qur'an, 36:82: "His command, when He desires aught, is to say to it, 'be,' and it is."
[5]Qur'an, 7:53, 10:3, 11:7, 57:4.
[6]Qur'an, 17:85.
[7]*Kāf* and *nūn:* the letters that make up the word *kon,* "be."
[8]Qur'an, 2:255.
[9]Self-subsisting *(qayyūm):* the attribute joined with living *(ḥayy)* in Qur'an, 2:255.

from which the world of spirits is derived, and the world of spirits in turn is the origin of the world of Dominion, and the world of Dominion is the source of the world of Kingship. The world of Kingship subsists, in its entirety, by the world of Dominion; the world of Dominion subsists by the world of spirits; the world of spirits subsists by the human spirit; and the human spirit subsists by God's attribute of self-subsisting. "Glorified be He in Whose hand is the Dominion of all things and to Whom ye shall be returned."[10]

Whatever comes into being in the worlds of Kingship and Dominion does so by means of an intermediary, with the exception of the being of man, for first his spirit came into being upon the command "be!" without any intermediary, and then his bodily form was kneaded, also without intermediary: "I kneaded the clay of Adam with My hands for forty days."[11] And when it was time for the marriage of the spirit to the bodily frame, man was honored with the immediacy of "I inhaled into him," and singularly ennobled with the relation of "of My spirit,"[12] as if God wished to say, "the spirit is alive with My life." As the calling into being of the spirit proceeded from God's command, so too did God relate the existence of the spirit to His command—"of my Lord's command"; and because the coming into being of the life of the spirit was from the divine attribute of life-bestowing,[13] this too He related to Himself, saying, "of My spirit." Herein lies a great subtlety.

The perfection of rank of the spirit lies therefore in its being adorned with the dominical attributes, in order to be worthy of God's viceregency. There are different views concerning this adornment. Some wayfarers are of the opinion that until refinement of the soul is achieved, adornment of the spirit is unattainable; while another group has said that without the adornment of spirit the refinement of the soul is unattainable, as was explained in the chapter on the purification of the heart.

[10]Qur'an, 36:83.
[11]*Ḥadīs̱ qodsī* previously quoted on p. 94.
[12]Qur'an, 15:29.
[13]Life-bestowing *(moḥyi):* cf. Qur'an, 30:50: "He it is Who bestows life on the dead, and He is powerful over all things."

Our shaikhs—may God sanctify their spirits!—are of the view that even if a whole lifetime be spent on the refinement of the soul, it will never be fully refined, and man will never be able to proceed to the adornment of the spirit. But if man, having first bound his soul in the fetters of the Law, turns to the purification of the heart and the adornment of the spirit, then, in accordance with the saying "Whosoever approaches Me by a span, him I will approach by a cubit,"[14] God's favors will go forth in generosity to greet him, and the effects of His rapture-bestowing grace and the effusion of the bounty of His divinity will be continuous: "Whosoever comes to Me walking, to him I will go running." In a single instant, the soul will be refined to a degree that it could never attain in a lifetime of ascetic struggle: "A state of rapture bestowed by God is equal to the deeds of man and jinn."[15]

Now in its earliest state, the spirit is like an infant and stands in need of training in order to become worthy of adornment. For the spirit, while in the spiritual realm, has as yet no attachment to the human body; it resembles the infant in its mother's womb that requires a form of nurture appropriate to that place, and has a degree of knowledge and cognition appropriate to its station. The infant is, however, deprived and unaware of the varied foods and the different sciences and branches of knowledge that it may acquire after birth. So too the spirit, in the spiritual realm, received from God the Glorious a form of nurture that would sustain its life in accordance with its capacity and aspiration at that station. It had a spiritual awareness of the generalities of the sciences and knowledge, but was deprived of the varied foods of "I sleep in the presence of my Lord, Who feeds me and gives me to drink"[16] and unaware of the science and knowledge

[14]*Ḥadīs̱ qodsī*, recorded by Moslem.

[15]This dictum is frequently regarded as a Tradition (see Forūzānfar, *Aḥadīs̱-e Mas̱navī*, p. 119). It is, however, quoted by Ḡazālī (*Eḥyā' 'olūm al-dīn*, IV, p. 58) without any ascription, and by 'Abd al-Raḥmān Jāmī (d. 898/1492) as the utterance of Abu'l-Qāsem Naṣrābādī (d. 366/977) *Nafaḥāt al-ons*, ed. Mahdī Towḥīdīpūr [Tehran, 1336 Sh./1947], p. 248). "State of rapture" (*jaẕba*): "God's drawing His bondsman near to Himself through His pre-eternal grace; His providing him with all that he needs in traversing the stages of the Path without any effort on his part" (Sajjādi, *Farhang-e moṣṭalaḥāt-e 'orafā va motaṣṣavvefa*, p. 132). The translation "state of rapture" appears appropriate because the root meaning of *jaẕba* is a "pulling" or "drawing"; the one who receives a *jaẕba* is drawn away from himself to God and becomes "enrapt."

[16]Tradition already quoted in part on p. 157.

of the manifest realm, for such is to be had only by means of the human senses, the bodily faculties and the attributes of the soul.

And when the spirit was joined to the bodily frame, it was like an infant proceeding from the womb to the cradle that will swiftly perish unless it receives suitable sustenance. The kind mother places the infant in the cradle and binds its hands and feet to prevent it from moving as nature impels it and breaking or bending its limbs. She will withhold from it the foods of this world to which it is still a stranger, for its stomach does not yet have the strength to digest them, and nurture it instead with the food of the world that was its abode for nine months, a sustenance to which it has been accustomed, namely, milk. After a time, when it has become accustomed to the air of this world, she will gradually begin to nurture it on the delicate foods of this world, and thus strengthen its stomach. It will then be prepared for coarser food that will help it to move, gain strength, and perform strenuous tasks.

So too with the infant of the spirit. When it is fully joined to the cradle of the bodily frame, the hands and feet of its activity must be tied in the swaddling bands of the commands and prohibitions of the Law, so that it does not move in accordance with animal nature, destroying itself or bending the limbs of its spiritual attributes (that is, transforming them into lowly attributes).

Then the spirit is given the milk of purification and adornment from the twin breasts of the Path and the Law, for this milk is a food from the world where it resided for several thousand years, a food on which it was nourished there. Thus its heart, which corresponds to the infant's stomach, is strengthened and made ready to consume the various foods which are connected with the exercise of viceregency in the manifest realm—"and He made you viceregents on earth"[17]—and which give the spirit the strength to bear the burdens of the Trust. Those foods will not then harm it, but rather strengthen and nurture it.

Just as the infant drinks milk at the breast of its mother or

[17]Qur'an, 6:165.

wetnurse, receiving from them the sustenance without which it would perish, so too the infant of the spirit drinks the milk of the Path and of Truth from the nipple of the mother of prophethood, or the wetnurse of sainthood,[18] receiving from the prophet or the shaikh—who stands in place of the prophet—that sustenance without which it would perish.[19]

When we spoke of the infant of the spirit being fully joined to the cradle of the bodily frame, we meant the time of maturity when the signs of intelligence begin to appear. The progress of the spirit, from the time that it joins the infant in the mother's womb, by virtue of the divine inhalation, to the point when it reaches the limit of maturity, is like that of the infant that before birth has some of its members fully developed but not others, and then, with its members fully developed, emerges from the chorion into the hands of the midwife. For the attachment of the spirit to the bodily frame is gradual. As long as the bodily frame lies within the mother's womb, the spirit's attachment to it is only with respect to life, motion being a result of this; its attachment to the senses is still incomplete, for it does not see with the physical eye nor hear with the physical ear. When the frame emerges from the womb, the spirit's attachment to the senses is completed, and later it also forms a gradual attachment to the human faculties.

Similarly, the spirit does not form full attachment to any part of the human frame that is the locus for a certain human attribute until after the attribute has appeared there. Thus, greed, anger, passion, and the other attributes each have a definite place and locus, and until it appears there, the spirit does not form a full attachment to that place and locus.

The last attribute to appear in man, enabling him to be held responsible and accountable for his actions, is that of passion. It

[18]Sainthood *(velāyat)*: the quality, state and powers of a *valī*, the "friend" or "protégé" of God (cf. Qur'an, 10:62). It is defined by Jorjānī as "the abiding of God's bondsman in God after effacing the awareness of self" *(Ketāb al-tā'rīfāt*, p. 275). Sainthood is an unsatisfactory translation, however convenient; its inadequacy should be constantly kept in mind.

[19]We would recall here that the sobriquet Dāya has the meaning of wetnurse. See introduction.

is when passion appears and the spirit becomes attached to that attribute and its locus that the spirit fully emerges from the chorion of the unseen into the manifest world. If the spirit is fortunate, it will immediately be delivered into the hands of the midwife of prophethood; in the cradle of the Law its hands and feet will be tied in the swaddling bands of command and prohibition; and it will be suckled at the twin breasts of the Path and the Law.

The nurturing of the spirit lies in this, that it gradually sunder all attachments it has formed as a result of its union with the bodily frame, by means of the senses, the human faculties, and other attributes. For each of these has become for the spirit a source of veiling and remoteness from the Mighty Presence; everything to which it has become accustomed and attached, through the inclination of instinctual nature, is a fetter on its foot, and a chain around its neck; it has caused the spirit to become a stranger to God, and deprived it of the taste of witnessing His beauty. When each of these attachments is sundered, a veil, a bond, a shackle is removed; a degree of nearness is attained; and the zephyr of auspiciousness wafts to the nostrils of the spirit's soul the scent of familiarity with the Divine Presence. Then will the spirit exclaim—

> The zephyr has brought me a scent
>   From the city where a dear one abides.
> The wind has come with the scent of her tress,
>   And renewed our love unaging.
> O wind, thou bearest the scent of friendship;
>   Do not frequent strangers, I beg of thee!

The infant of the spirit is thus nurtured by two mothers: on the one hand, it drinks from the breast of the Path the milk of the severance of attachment from all that is familiar to instinctual nature; and on the other, it drinks from the breast of the Truth the milk of intimations[20] from the unseen world, of flashes and rays from the lights of the Divine Presence. The spirit is thus

[20]Intimations *(vāredāt):* "truths from the unseen that come to the heart without any deliberate intent on the part of the recipient" (Jorjānī, *Ketāb al-ta'rīfāt,* p. 269).

"between a garden and a pool"[21] until, through the effect of the intimations it receives and the manifestations of spiritual lights, it is set free from the bonds of corporeal attachment and delivered from the prison of bodily attributes. Then it arrives at the frontier of the primordial state, becomes fit to hear the address of "am I not your Lord?" and is enabled to answer "Yes."[22]

Now when the spirit has emerged from the garment of humanity and become safe from the harmful effects of fantasy and imagination, there is displayed to it all that the worlds of Dominion and Kingship contain; it contemplates the clear signs of God in all the atoms of the universe and in the mirror of the soul.

In this state, even though the spirit looks out through the window of the senses, it observes a trace of God's signs in all that it looks upon, and it is for this reason that a certain great one said: "I looked upon nothing without seeing God in it."[23] Now love is purified and emerges from the veil of the letters that form the word "love." The spirit becomes devoted to love, and love mingles with the spirit. All duality disappears between love and the spirit, and unity appears, so that however much the spirit seeks itself, it finds only love.

So much have I pined for love of the moonface
  That I have lost my own self in the loving.

Thus, if the life of the frame be on account of the spirit, now the life of the spirit is on account of love.

If thou seest me still living, O worshipper of coquetry,
  Think not that a soul quickens my body.
I live on love alone, not through a soul,
  For my soul I abandoned to seek thee.[24]

[21]"Between a garden and a pool": a cliché in Arabic poetry signifying the simultaneous enjoyment of two pleasurable states.

[22]Qur'an, 7:172.

[23]Saying of Moḥammad b. Vāse' already quoted on p. 139.

[24]This quatrain has been attributed to Majd al-Dīn Baḡdādī. See Ye. E. Bertel's "Chetverostishiya Sheikha Madzhd al-Dina Bagdadi," in *Izbrannye Trudy: Sufizm i Sufiyskaya Literatura,* p. 338.

At this station, love has taken the place of the spirit and acts as its deputy in the bodily frame. The spirit has become the moth circling the candle of the beauty of eternal besoughtness;[25] and with its two pinions of extreme oppressiveness and extreme ignorance,[26] acquired from its attachment to the four elements (this being its gain from the attachment), it begins to fly around the pavilions of the court of unity,[27] reciting with the groans of an intoxicated lover:

> Thy fair cheek is a candle—I am a moth;
> Thy grief is my heart's kinsman—I am a stranger.
> A chain of ringlet tips rests on thy neck;
> On my neck hang it—I am a madman.[28]

At this station, in accordance with God's promise, "whoever approaches Me by a span, him I will approach by a cubit,"[29] the dominical[30] favors will go forth to greet the spirit and admit it to the feast of expansion;[31] they will begin exchanging with the spirit the tenderness and affection of "He shall love them and they shall love Him,"[32] and start amorous discourse and communion. A reproachful address shall go forth with this intent:

> O love, if thou would draw nigh to my abode,
> Thou must each moment prefer shame to honor.
> If thou would be given the thread of light,
> Then like the candle set fire to thy mouth.

When heavy draughts of the wine of reproach of "We shall cast upon thee a weighty saying"[33] reach the palate of the spirit, and its effects assault all part of the spirit's being, the spirit is

[25]Eternal besoughtness: see p. 217, n. 70.
[26]Concerning these two attributes, see p. 64, n. 13.
[27]Unity: see p. 214, n. 57.
[28]Another quatrain attributed to Majd al-Dīn Baḡdādī. See Bertel's "Chetverostishiya," p. 337.
[29]*Ḥadīṣ qodsī* previously quoted on p. 222.
[30]Dominical *(rabbānī):* pertaining to the divine name "lord" *(rabb),* which indicates God's solicitude for His creatures.
[31]Expansion *(enbesāṭ):* see p. 68, n. 28.
[32]Qur'an, 5:54.
[33]Qur'an, 73:5.

overwhelmed by the wine[34] and sets its face to nonbeing. From the flourishing settlement of being it turns to the ruined tavern of effacement.[35]

Last night, an old man came to the tavern, they say,
His tears in intimate discourse with the goblet.[36]
His hand turns wine to honey, the idol temple becomes a mosque—
See the wondrous deeds an aged sinner performed![37]

The spirit is kept for a time at this purgatorylike station, intermediate between the paradise of the world of the dominical attributes and the hell of the world of being, and with the wine of witnessing all remaining traces of the attributes of existence are effaced from it. You have heard that Joseph, upon whom be peace, was detained for five hundred years at the gates of paradise and not admitted so that the pollution of worldly kingship might be fully removed from him. The same matter is also indicated in God's saying: "We removed all impurities from their breasts."[38]

Now during this confinement of the spirit, through the dominance of its yearning for the Divine Presence and the effect of

[34]Wine has various senses in Sufi symbolism: the effacement of the self in the essence (Sajjādī, *Farhang-e moṣṭalaḥāt-e 'orafā va motaṣavvefa*, p. 232-233); the overpowering assault on man of divine love; a rapturous state *(jazba);* the state evoked in man by the onset of manifestation (Sajjādī, *Farhang-e moṣṭalaḥāt-e 'orafā va motaṣavvefa*, pp. 232-233; anonymous, *Mer'āt-e 'oššāq*, p. 173).

[35]The tavern has likewise several different meanings: the purified inner being of the gnostic; the gathering place of those afflicted with longing for the divine beloved; the presence of the shaikh who dispenses the wine of love; or the Sufi hospice (Sajjādī, *Farhang-e moṣṭalaḥāt-e 'orafā va motaṣavvefa*, pp. 392-393, anonymous, *Mer'āt-e 'oššāq*, p. 147).

Effacement *(fanā):* "the falling away of reprehensible qualities, just as the counterpart of effacement, abiding *(baqā)* is the existence of praiseworthy qualities. In reality effacement is of two kinds: one, that which we have just described, which is attained by an abundance of ascetic striving, and the other nonawareness of the worlds of Kingship and Dominion through immersion in the magnificence of the Creator and the witnessing of God." (Jorjānī, *Ketāb al-ta'rīfāt*, p. 176.)

[36]The goblet *(ṣorāḥī):* the station of intimacy *(ons)* (Sajjādī, *Farhang-e moṣṭalaḥāt-e 'orafā va motaṣavvefa*, p. 248).

[37]Poem attributed to Neẓāmī Ganjavī (d. 605/1209); see *Ganjīna-ye Ganjavī* (Tehran, 1313 Š./1934), p. 229.

[38]Qur'an, 7:44.

intimations from the unseen, various wondrous deeds[39] will be made manifest in man's outer and inner being: "He lavished upon you His outward and inward bounty."[40]

If the wayfarer in this station looks upon these bounties with the eye of approval, he will be distracted from Him Who bestowed the bounties; but if he sprinkles on the eye of the soul the dust of subordination to prophetic example, and adorns himself with the decoration of "his eye swerved not, nor strayed,"[41] he will become fit to contemplate the supreme signs.[42] "It is here that the tears are shed"; this is that threshold where the blood of a hundred thousand sincere devotees was spilled on the soil of trial, but not a ripple appeared in the water.[43]

Many are the wayfarers of true intent and seekers smitten with love who have become irremediably drunk in the tavern of the spirit, with the goblet of wondrous deeds! They tasted the pleasure of the wine, and in their drunkenness fell into pride and arrogance, never again seeing the face of sobriety and awareness.

He drank no wine, nor entered the tavern;
But swooned as he read the grape's bill of sale.[44]

They remained behind the veil of "the men of wondrous deeds are all veiled," making those wondrous deeds their idol of the moment. They put on the girdle of attachment to wondrous deeds, averted their face from God, and turned toward men. May God protect us from such deficiency after abundance!

[39]Wondrous deeds *(karāmāt):* "the appearance of an extraordinary phenomenon at the hands of one who does not claim prophethood and is a practicing believer" (Jorjānī, *Ketāb al-ta'rīfāt,* p. 193). We deliberately refrain from translating the word as miracle, since the "miracle" *(mo'jeza)* is restricted to prophets and its purpose differs from that of *karāmāt.*

[40]Qur'an, 31:20.

[41]Qur'an, 53:17.

[42]Cf. Qur'an, 53:18: "Verily he saw the supreme signs of his Lord."

[43]Cf. the Tradition, "The sincere devotees are in great peril" quoted on p. 97.

[44]A line apparently inspired by a sentence of almost identical wording in the letters of 'Ayn al-Qożāt Hamadānī *(Maktūbāt,* ed. 'Alī Naqī Rażavī [Beirut, 1969], I, 300).

O thou whose dwelling is the *qebla* of the fortunate,
To whom are turned all the hearts of the joyous!
Should one today avert his face from thee,
What eye will be left him to behold thee tomorrow?

As for those who enjoy the fortune of "those to whom goodness has proceeded from Us, they are far removed therefrom,"[45] in the bounty of wondrous deeds their eye is fixed upon the Bestower of bounty, not the bounty itself, and they give thanks for the bounty by looking upon its Bestower, so that in accordance with "if ye are thankful, truly I shall increase you,"[46] they become fit to receive the bounty that is the being of the Bestower of bounty.

May my heart never be able to part itself from thee!
Nor to become familiar with other than thee!
Should it cut loose from thy love, whom might it love?
And should it leave thy dwelling, where might it go?[47]

The duty of servitude incumbent on the spirit at this station is to hold fast to this threshold; to draw in the skirt of aspiration from all other than God; to divorce triply, with utter disdain, this world and the hereafter; not to content itself with the lofty degrees and the bliss of all eight paradises; and to appoint the verses this weak one has composed as its litany of the hour:

As long as we shelter in the emperor's shade,
Creation's twin realms are the slaves at our court.
The garden's flowers and its houris are but thorns
on the path,
For our goal and our dwelling are beyond all creation.

If there are displayed to the spirit the stations of the one hundred and twenty thousand and more instances of prophethood, it should pay no attention to any of them and spurn them, and in Moḥammadan fashion not stop until it reaches the lane of poverty. If it is addressed a thousand times, "O bondsman, what

[45]Qur'an, 68:101.
[46]Qur'an, 14:7.
[47]A quatrain previously quoted on p. 116.

is thy desire?" it should answer: "The bondsman has no desire, for desire has its face turned toward being, and we are knocking at the door of nonbeing." This path is a protracted one, and if one waits for a thousand years unnoticed at the threshold, one must not weary nor turn away from the court.

> Draw not away from his dwelling, O heart filled with pain,
> Though I know this desert is no place for thy foot.
> Sever thy head of suffering over the soil of his threshold,
> For the forecourt in the palace of splendor is no place for thee.

At this station, all the prophets and saints stand perplexed and helpless, for it is not possible to advance from here with the foot of humanity, nor to carry off the ball with the arm of virility.

> Union with the friend is a treasure, for which men stand in wait,
> But all hangs on fortune and whom it befalls.[48]

Now, from the quiver of striving every arrow of endeavor has been loosed, and none has hit the target of acceptance. One must drop one's shield like the rose, and lift up one's hands in supplication like the plane tree, not draw one's dagger like the willow, nor cast one's shield upon the water like the water lily. One should be silent with ten tongues like the lily, close the eyes like the narcissus, bow the head in humility like the hyacinth, and with burned heart, exhale musk-scented breath like the tulip.

For this is the station where the beloved displays her coquetry and the lover's entreaty reaches its utmost. All the ties the spirit once had it has lost at love's backgammon; and now that it is bankrupt and wretched, its hand is dipped in blood and it must lose its own life:

> Lose thy life, for union with him is not given for mere words;

[48]A line from the poetry of Sayyed Ḥasan Ḡaznavī (d. 556/1161): *Dīvān,* ed. Modarres Rażavī (Tehran, 1328 Š./1949), p. 48.

The drunkards are not given milk to drink from the
Law's goblet.
Where the carefree drink wine together
Not a sip is given to the self-worshipper.

Whenever the breeze of the exhalation of God's favors is wafted by His grace to the nostrils of the spirit, it exclaims like Jacob, with heart aflame and passionate sigh, "Verily I feel the breath of Joseph, though ye call me dotard."[49]

When the Joseph of the garden comes to the meadow,
The scent of Zoleyḵā comes to my nostrils.
My heart, groaning like Jacob, exclaims—
"Alas! I smell the scent of the shirt."

The spirit is so overcome by the yearning and anxiety of love that it tires of its own selfhood and becomes satiated with its own existence; it attempts to destroy itself and cries out like Ḥoseyn b. Mansūr

Kill me, O trusted friends of mine!
For in my killing is my life.
My life is in my death,
And my death is in my life.[50]

O friend, I am truly content now to die;
A thousand gifts are theirs if they'll now kill me!

During this time, when the spirit is detained at the threshold of might and afflicted with the torment of separation and the pain of longing, it becomes seized with the madness of the moth, proclaiming—

We tried all the cunning that reason contrived,
So now grant madness a turn!

Caught in these straits of helplessness, impotence, and wretchedness, the spirit despairs of itself and its efforts; it

[49]Qur'an, 12:94.
[50]*Dīwān al-Ḥallāj*, ed. Kāmel Moṣtafā al-Šībī (Baghdad, 1974), p. 14.

knows for certain that "its request is spurned and its path is barred"; and it casts itself down lamenting—

I am lost in my search for thee, take then my hand,
O guide of those who stray in search of thee!

Last night my soul was steeped in blood on thy account,
And my companion till daybreak was the Pleiades.
Until dawn came this was my lament—
Thy help, O Helper of the supplicant!

When the smoke arising from the lament of that burning heart in the station of helplessness reaches the presence of the Merciful One, in accordance with "Who answers the needy when he calls upon Him?"[51] He lifts the veil of might from the beauty of eternal besoughtness[52] and caresses that suffering lover with a thousand favors:

Arise and come, for my house is cleared of strangers,
And the veil is lifted for thy sake.

When the candle of the beauty of eternal besoughtness is made manifest, the spirit spreads its wings like a moth; the attraction of the rays of the candle plunders the moth's being; the beam of the light of manifestation decorates the moth's substance with the adornment of the candle's attributes; and when the tongue of flame of the candle of unity blazes brightly, it spares not a single straw in the harvest of the moth of the spirit.

Thy love hath freed me from joy and from sorrow;
Thy union hath freed me of rejoicing and mourning.
A single light from thee hath touched me;
No more do I know the good or the bad, the great or the small.

The light of the beauty of eternal besoughtness becomes now the spirit of the spirit—"Those it is in whose hearts faith has been inscribed and whom He has aided with a spirit from

[51]Qur'an, 27:62.
[52]See p. 217, n. 70.

Him."[53] If one life was lost, behold now a life that will never be lost.

Love came and gave my soul to the beloved;
Then she gave me a soul from her own soul.

This is the threshold of the realm of effacement,[54] and the frontier of the realm of abiding.[55] Henceforth the task of training the spirit changes into its adornment with the rapturous states bestowed by God; a single one of His breaths is equal to all the deeds of men and jinn: "A state of rapture bestowed by God is equal to all the deeds of men and jinn."[56]

In secret He gave me the messages,
So ten myriad souls cannot buy a single point.

"He approached and remained suspended at a distance of two bowstrings, or even nearer; and He revealed unto His slave that which He revealed."[57]

May God's peace be upon Moḥammad and his family.

[53]Qur'an, 58:22.
[54]Effacement *(fanā):* see n. 34 above.
[55]Abiding *(baqā):* abiding within God, clothing oneself in divine attributes and losing consciousness of separate existence (Sajjādī, *Farhang-e moṣṭalaḥāt-e 'orafā va motaṣavvefa,* p. 90).
[56]See p. 222, n. 15.
[57]Qur'an, 53:9.

Ninth Chapter:
Concerning the Need for a Shaikh in Man's Training and Wayfaring

God Almighty said: "Moses said unto him, 'shall I follow thee that thou might teach me the right guidance taught unto thee?' "[1]

The Prophet, upon whom be peace and blessings, said: "The shaikh among his following is like the prophet among his people."[2]

Know that in order to travel the path of religion and reach the realm of certainty, a perfect shaikh and guide, well-acquainted with the way and possessed of sainthood and spiritual efficacy,[3] is essential.

> Better to abstain from all but wine
> And better for that to come from the hands of a hidden idol.

"My saints are beneath My domes; none knows them but I."[4] Despite his perfection of rank as a prophet and of degree as a messenger, and despite his being a possessor of firm resolve, Moses, upon whom be peace, had to serve Šo'eyb[5] continuously for ten years until he was fit to receive the honor of conversing with God. Then, after attaining the good fortune of being God's interlocutor and the auspiciousness of "We inscribed for him on the tablets the lesson to be drawn from all things and the detailed explanation of all things";[6] after gaining the leadership of the

[1]Qur'an, 18:67. The words of Moses are addressed to the figure generally identified as Ḵeżr.

[2]Tradition already quoted on p. 178.

[3]Spiritual efficacy *(taṣarrof):* the ability of the shaikh to affect, unhindered and unseen, the inner state of his *morīd* (see Meier's introduction, *Fawā'iḥ al-Jamāl wa Fawātiḥ al-Jalāl*, pp. 214, 229, 233–234). The term is not to be found in the earliest Sufi texts, and would seem to have originated in the seventh/thirteenth century when the structure of the *ṭarīqat* crystallized and the relationship of shaikh and *morīd* became more closely defined.

[4]*Ḥadīs̱ qodsī* (Forūzānfar, *Aḥādīs̱-e Mas̱navī*, p. 52).

[5]The personage known in biblical tradition as Jethro (cf. Qur'an, 7:85).

[6]Qur'an, 7:144.

Twelve Tribes of the Children of Israel, and receiving the entirety of the Torah from the dictation of the Divine Presence—after all this, in the school for the learning of innate knowledge, he had to request the alphabet of following from the teacher Ḵeżr:[7] "Shall I follow thee that thou might teach me the right guidance taught unto thee?"[8] and then the teacher wrote the first inscription on his alphabet slate: "Thou wilt not be able to keep patience with me."[9] For see, in reality—

A banquet where two thousand souls are sacrificed
is no place for a loud, empty drummer.

Seduced, deceived, and outwitted on this path is he who imagines himself able to traverse the limitless desert and attain the Ka'ba of union with the strength of his mere human footsteps, without guide or escort: "Far, far off is that which ye are promised."[10] In the beginning of guidance, it is true, there is no need for prophet or shaikh, for that beginning comes with the seed of search that is planted in men's hearts only by the effect of the gaze of God's grace. However much the Prophet, upon whom be peace, tried to sow that seed in the soil of Abū Ṭāleb's heart,[11] he was unable to do so without God. It was said to him: "Verily thou dost not guide whom thou wish, but God guides whomsoever He wills."[12]

By God! None has any share of God unless it be
through God![13]

Once the seed has appeared, however, there arises the need for prophets and shaikhs to nurture it: "Truly thou guidest to a straight path."[14]

Know that the need of the wayfaring *morīd* for the shaikh

[7]Concerning Ḵeżr, see p. 25, n. 4.
[8]Qur'an, 18:67.
[9]Qur'an, 18:68, 73, 76.
[10]Qur'an, 23:36.
[11]Abū Ṭāleb, an uncle of the Prophet who despite the solicitude he showed to his nephew never embraced Islam.
[12]Qur'an, 28:56.
[13]A line from Sanā'ī *(Dīvān,* p. 172).
[14]Qur'an, 42:52.

who has attained union is on account of many reasons. First, the outer path to the material Ka'ba cannot be traveled without a guide acquainted with the journey, although the traveler on that path has an eye with which to see it and a foot with which to walk on it. The path, moreover, is visible and the distance is fixed. But on the path of the Truth, which has been trod by a hundred and twenty thousand and more manifestations of prophethood and instances of messengerhood, not a single footprint is to be seen.

> 'Tis with aspiration and vision that the men of His
> path travel;
> Hence not a single footprint is seen on love's highway.[15]

Now the novitiate wayfarer on this path has neither vision nor foot to carry him forward. Although initially all were brought forth from the gate of extreme oppressiveness and extreme ignorance, so that none might boast of vision and knowledge concerning the Path—it was said to the Master of Creation: "thou knewest not what was the Book, nor faith; but We made it a light, guiding those of Our bondsmen whom We will"[16]—still it is certain that so vast a desert cannot be traveled without a vision-bestowing guide.

The second reason is that just as on the outward path robbers and bandits are numerous so that an escort is called for, so too on the path of Truth the adornments of this world ("Fair-seeming to men has been made the love of that which they covet—women, sons, hoards heaped up of gold and silver, horses branded, cattle, land well-tilled")[17] the soul, capricious desire, evil companions and demons, all these are as bandits, and one cannot travel unless escorted by a possessor of sainthood.

The third reason is that on this path there are also numerous pitfalls, afflictions, and illusions, and countless deep abysses. Hence the philosophers, through their insistence on traveling

[15]Half of a quatrain attributed to the Kobravī saint, Seyf al-Dīn Bākarzī (concerning whom see introduction, p. 4); see Sa'īd Nafīsī, "Seyf al-Dīn Bākarzī," *Majalla-ye Dāneškade-ye Adabīyāt* (Tehran), II:4 (1334 Š./1955), p. 8.
[16]Qur'an, 42:52.
[17]Qur'an, 3:14.

alone, have fallen into many an awesome chasm and lost faith and religion. So too the materialists and the naturalists, the Brahmins and the anthropomorphists, the abstractionists and the antinomians, the people of capricious desire and innovation —all belong to those who have embarked on this path without a shaikh and exemplary model. They were unable to cross the abysses and pitfalls; each one fell from the path into some valley of doubt and misfortune, and perished there.

> Thou art like an ant, and the path is like the tress of an idol,
> So go not forth in blind aping and guessing, beware![18]

But those fortunate ones who have traveled under the protection of the sainthood of perfect shaikhs have comprehended the essence of all afflictions and pitfalls, contemplated all illusions with equanimity, and distinguished and recognized the pitfall by means of which each group of the people of capricious desire and innovation have been borne off to Hell. Taking refuge themselves in the good fortune of the possessors of sainthood, they have crossed safely over all pitfalls.

The fourth reason is that among the different trials and afflictions that beset the path from end to end are the numerous halts and pauses that occur. A shaikh endowed with spiritual efficacy is needed so that by the effect of his sainthood he may deliver the *morīd* from the halts and pauses; restore the ardor of search and the sincerity of desire within him; through various subtle strategems expel contraction,[19] weariness, and depression from his nature; and, with both clear expression and indication, awaken the impulse of longing in his inner being: "Remind, for verily the reminder benefits the believers."[20]

The fifth reason is that sicknesses and ailments assail the disposition of the wayfarer on this path. Certain corrupt substances gain dominance over it so that the temperament of search and aspiration becomes perverted. The need then arises for a skillful physician who, with appropriate treatment, will strive to remove

[18]A line from Sanā'ī (*Dīvān*, p. 52).
[19]Contraction (*enqebāż*): "the cessation through temporary severance, of the heart's pleasure" (Sajjādī, *Farhang-e moṣṭalaḥāt-e 'orafā va motaṣavvefa*, p. 312).
[20]Qur'an, 51:55.

the disease and allay the corrupt substance. If this is not done, the wayfarer will be unable to proceed. Indeed, it can be said that these afflictions beset every *morīd* at the outset, and unless the physician of hearts removes them with wholesome medicines, the *morīd* will have no power to begin his journeying on the path.

When he is visited again later by the same afflictions and sicknesses, or by some of them, he will again need the shaikh as his skilled physician. Otherwise, like other wayfarers, he will remain at a certain station and be infected by some affliction that may damage his faith, just as at each stage and station of this path thousands upon thousands of sincere and faithful devotees have been severed from all further progress, been infected with various diseases, and lost their faith.

The sixth reason is that the wayfarer on this path will reach certain spiritual stations where his spirit is divested of the garment of fleshly humanity and the clothing of water and clay. A ray from the manifestation of the traces of God's attributes will touch it, and it will in turn manifest itself to him with all the spiritual and infinite lights and attributes. The traces and remnants of the falsehood that is fleshly humanity will vanish, and the sense of the verse, "Truth has come and falsehood has vanished,"[21] will become apparent. At this station, when the mirror of the heart has become purified, it receives the reflection of the manifestation of the spirit; it experiences the taste of "I am the Truth" and "Glory be unto Me";[22] and there appears in it the proud delusion that it has found perfection and attained the true goal. The gaze of the intellect, the understanding and the imagination, is totally unable to perceive that any of the prophets and saints has gone beyond this station. Were not the workings of the sainthood of the shaikh—this being a form of God's favor—to come to the aid of the *morīd* on the edge of this abyss, his faith would be in danger of destruction. For at this station the danger of belief in incarnation and absorption[23] is to be feared.

[21]Qur'an, 17:81.

[22]Theopathic utterances of Ḥallāj and Bāyazīd Basṭāmī, respectively; see p. 173, n. 86 and n. 87.

[23]Absorption *(etteḥād):* "the mingling and merging of two things so as to become a single thing" (Jorjānī, *Ketāb al-ta'rīfāt,* p. 6); the illusory notion of a substantive identity between man and God.

Therefore a perfect shaikh, one well versed in visionary experiences, is needed to deliver him from this delusion by the workings of his sainthood. He will explain to him the nature of his station, bring to his attention the stations that lie above it, and encourage him to strive toward them. Then the *morīd* will escape this pitfall and set his face to the path once again. Otherwise he would be so fettered to this obstacle that he could in no way escape. And God is the Most Knowing.

The seventh reason is that various phenomena from the unseen world appear to the wayfarer on the path, and certain visions are unfolded to him. Each of these is either an indication from the unseen world of the *morīd*'s deficiencies and excesses, of his progress and pauses; a sign of the purity and impurity of his heart; a pointer to the reprehensible and praiseworthy attributes of his soul; or a mark of veils pertaining to this world and the hereafter, of states deriving from Satan, the soul, or God, as well as other matters which cannot be counted or enumerated. The novice has no awareness or knowledge of any of this, for it is all spoken in the language of the unseen, and only the people of the unseen know the language of the unseen. A shaikh is therefore needed, strengthened with divine support and instructed in the science of interpreting the unseen—thus did Joseph, upon whom be peace, say, "O Lord, Thou hast bestowed kingship upon me and taught me the interpretation of sayings"[24]—in order to explain the visions of the *morīd* and unveil his states to him, gradually teaching him the language of the unseen, and acting as his teacher and translator. Otherwise the *morīd* will remain deprived of the knowledge contained in those indications from the unseen world; progress will be unattainable and knowledge of the stations on the path impossible.

The eighth reason is that the wayfarer who journeys on the limited strength of his own foot will be unable, in many year, to traverse even a single station on the path, for the progress of the novice is less than that of the feeblest ant:

> On this path not every ant can journey,
> For not every foot is suited to it.

[24]Qur'an, 12:101.

There are, moreover, certain stations on the path that can be traversed by flying, and the novice is incapable of flying, for he is like an egg that has not reached the station of birdhood.[25] He can reach that station only by a bird exerting influence upon him. The shaikh it is who resembles a bird; and when the *morīd* attaches himself to the wings of his sainthood, he traverses in a brief time, on the pinion of the shaikh's aspiration, vast distances that he could never have covered himself in whole lifetimes. Through attaching himself to the shaikh, he flies in a realm where he could not fly alone.

This feeble one once saw in K̲ārazm a wayfarer known as Shaikh Abū Bakr. He was from the province of Jām in Khorasan. He was of those whom God had drawn unto Himself, and although he had no particular shaikh, by virtue of the rapturous states God had bestowed on him he had attained lofty stations, passed numerous mighty obstacles, and traversed great distances. While discussing one of the stations with this feeble one, he said: "It took me forty-five years of journeying to reach that station, and then, from the rigor of the states accompanying it, my stomach bled for two years. I lost much blood, and was about to lose both life and soul when God Almighty caused me to move on from that station."

This feeble one narrated the story in the presence of his own shaikh, the monarch of the Path, the exemplar of the Truth, Majd al-Dīn Bağdādī, may God be well pleased with him. He uttered these blessed words: "None ever recognizes the true value of the shaikh, nor is able to repay the debt that he owes him. We have *morīds* who in two years fulfill all the requirements of wayfaring, from the beginning of the Path to the end of Truth. And when they reach that station of which you speak, we cause them to pass beyond it in one or two days. Yet that venerable one, after forty-five years of struggle and being drawn nigh to God, tarries there for two whole years and suffers so much pain!"

[25]In this comparison (developed more fully on pp. 247-249 below), Dāya may well have had in mind the fatal utterance of his preceptor, Majd al-Dīn Bağdādī. See introduction, p. 9.

The ninth reason is that traveling on the path is made possible for the *morīd* by means of *zekr,* and *zekr* practiced independently does not yield its full benefit. Rather, it should be received from a perfect shaikh, as will be described in the chapter on the need for the inculcation of *zekr* by the shaikh.[26]

The tenth reason is that when someone desires, at the court of a monarch in the world of form, to obtain some degree or rank, or to acquire some position or governorship, he may not deserve these things, or have performed any service that would fit him for them. But when he enters the court in the protection of one of the king's intimates, attaching himself to him, and then submits his request to the royal presence, since the king looks upon that person with favor and accepts his word, he will pay no attention to the lack of merit and prior service of the petitioner, but only to the rights earned by his intimate, to his rank and degree of nearness. He will not reject his words but instead grant his desire, whereas if the petitioner had made his request alone it would never have been granted. At the court of the True Monarch there are also servants drawn nigh to the Presence whose wish will be granted even if they request that the world be turned on its head. "Many a dusty and disheveled one clad in rags, to whom men pay no heed, will have his oath fulfilled when he swears upon God."[27] Such is the station of those bareheaded, barefooted ones at that court, for they are the kings and monarchs of religion, the guides of the world of certainty. In his presence they enjoy a dignity and esteem that cannot be encompassed in description or statement: "I have prepared for My righteous servants that which no eye has seen, no ear has heard, nor has occurred to the heart of any man."[28]

There are numerous other reasons for the necessity of a shaikh, but we restrict ourselves to these to avoid length and prolixity.

God's peace and blessings be upon Moḥammad and all his family.

[26]Third Part, Fourteenth Chapter.

[27]Tradition recorded by al-Ḥakīm, and quoted also by Ḡazālī *(Eḥyā' 'olūm al-dīn,* III, 270).

[28]*Ḥadīs̱ qodsī* already quoted on p. 133.

Tenth Chapter:
Concerning the Conditions and Attributes of the Shaikh

God Almighty said: "Then they found one of Our bondsmen whom We had given mercy from Our immediate proximity and whom We had taught knowledge from Our presence."[1]

The Prophet, God's peace and blessings be upon him, said: "There will always be a group of my people steadfast in the truth, who shall not be harmed by those who revile them."[2]

Know that God Almighty appointed Ḵeżr as shaikh and exemplar, and sent to him Moses to be his *morīd* and to learn God-given knowledge from him. The worthiness of Ḵeżr to be shaikh is indicated by the words, "one of Our servants whom We had given mercy from Ourselves and whom We had taught knowledge from Our presence." Here God establishes five ranks for Ḵeżr: first, the distinction of His servitude—"one of Our bondsmen"; second, the capacity to receive truths through direct bestowal from Him—"whom We had given mercy"; third, the honor of attaining special mercy from the station of immediate proximity[3]—"from Our immediate proximity"; fourth, the nobility of learning different species of knowledge from Him—"and whom We had taught"; and fifth, the auspicious fortune of attaining God-given knowledge through direct bestowal—"knowledge from Our presence."

These are the five pillars on which rest fitness for being a shaikh and the ability to be an examplar. The shaikh must be distinguished by these properties or stations, and possess in

[1]Qur'an, 18:65. "One of our bondsmen" is generally understood to refer to Ḵeżr.

[2]Tradition previously quoted in part on p. 178.

[3]Immediate proximity (*'endīyat):* a noun formation from the preposition *'end* ("in the presence or proximity of") that occurs in the phrase *men 'endenā* ("from Our immediate proximity"). The phrase is explained by Dāya in his *tafsīr* as follows: "We had made him capable of receiving the effulgence of a light from among the lights of Our attributes without intermediary" (quoted in Ḥaqqī, *Rūḥ al-bayān*, V, p. 270).

addition other qualities which, God willing, will be set forth, in order to be suitable for the task of shaikh and exemplar.

The first station is that of servitude. As long as one is not free from the bondage of other than God, he cannot attain the distinction of servitude of "one of Our bondsmen." And the wayfarer is not free as long as he is attached to himself, and his own felicity and wretchedness. The great have said: "Attachment to aught is slavery to it." Also, "the bondsman who would buy himself free is a slave until the last *derham* is paid."

The second station is that of receiving truths through direct bestowal from God. This is attainable only when one is completely delivered from the veils of both fleshly and spiritual attributes, for whatever comes from behind a veil comes indirectly, even though it may sometimes appear to be direct. Thus Moses, upon whom be peace, heard speech coming to him directly, even though in reality it was not direct. Sometimes the tree functioned as intermediary—"from the tree saying, 'O Moses, verily I, I am God'"[4]—and sometimes a voice calling: "He was called from the right bank of the valley."[5] Not everyone will understand the details of this matter. It should, however, be known that God's speech is without letter, sound, or voice, whereas Moses was able to hear only by means of letter, sound, and voice. If he had been able to hear directly he would not have been assigned to the company of Ḵeżr for him to efface from the mirror of his heart all vestiges of human attribute, with the polish of "Thou wilt not be able to keep patience with me."[6]

Since at the beginning of his mission the Prophet, upon whom be peace, did not have all veils completely lifted from him, he received revelation indirectly—"the trustworthy spirit brought it down to thy heart."[7] But on the night of the ascension, when a true removal of veils was effected, no intermediary remained, "and He revealed to His servant that which He revealed."[8]

[4]Qur'an, 28:30.
[5]Qur'an, 28:30.
[6]Qur'an, 18:68, 73, 76.
[7]Qur'an, 26:193.
[8]Qur'an, 53:10.

The third station is the attainment of special mercy from the station of proximity to His attributes, this being reserved for the elect among the elect. For there are three classes among the beneficiaries of the attribute of mercy: the common, the elect, and the elect among the elect. The common and the elect attain it indirectly, and the elect among the elect, directly.

The common partake of the attribute of compassion, and to it attain both the accepted and the rejected of God. For daily sustenance, health, and concern for family are shared by Muslim and unbeliever alike. This is a property of the attribute of compassion, and were it not for the effect of this attribute, God would not give a single drink of water to any unbeliever. Thus He said: "My compassion has outstripped My anger,"[9] and for this reason too it has been said, in supplication, "O Compassionate in this world!"[10]

The elect partake of the attribute of mercifulness, for through accepting the summons of the prophets and following them, they attain the bounty of the eight paradises in the hereafter: "Tell My bondsmen that I am the Oft-Forgiving, the Merciful."[11] For this reason it has been said, in supplication, "O Merciful in the hereafter!"

The elect among the elect partake of the attribute of Most Merciful of the Merciful, and do so directly, as did the prophets. Job, upon whom be peace, said: "Harm has touched me, and Thou art the Most Merciful of the Merciful."[12] So too Moses said, peace be upon him: "O Lord, forgive me and my brother and cause us to enter Thy mercy, for Thou art the Most Merciful of the Merciful."[13] The prayer of Moses was for mercy received directly from the station of proximity to His attributes—"mercy from Ourselves"—through the manifestation of the attributes of divinity, the effacement of the traces of humanity, and the assumption of the dominical characteristics.

[9]*Ḥadīṣ qodsī* recorded by Bok̲ārī, Moslem, Ebn Māja, and Ebn Ḥanbal.
[10]Cf. the discussion of the attributes *raḥmān* and *rahīm* on pp. 201-202.
[11]Qur'an, 15:49.
[12]Qur'an, 21:83.
[13]Qur'an, 7:150.

The fourth station is that of learning different species of knowledge directly from God. This is attainable only when the tablet of the heart has been completely cleansed and purified of the impress of all other forms of knowledge—spiritual, intellectual, auditory, and sensory. For as long as these forms of knowledge are fixed in the tablet of the heart, they prevent the heart from being able to receive knowledge from God directly. Although Moses had received the knowledge of the Torah from God, it had been by means of tablets—"We inscribed for him on the tablets."[14] One of the benefits that he derived from keeping the company of Ḵeżr was that his heart became worthy itself to receive divine inscription, so that he was no longer concerned with the tablets. The Prophet, upon whom be peace, also enjoyed this rank, for he said: "I have been given the totality of words."[15] Moreover, he was instructed in the Qur'an by means of his heart, not by means of written forms; "the Compassionate taught the Qur'an."[16]

The fifth station is that of being taught God-given knowledge directly. Although different branches of knowledge may be learned directly from God, such knowledge is not necessarily God-given. Thus God said concerning David, "We taught him the art of fashioning coats of mail,"[17] the knowledge of this art not being one of the branches of God-given knowledge. God-given knowledge relates rather to the cognition of the essence and attributes of the Majestic Presence, and is attained only through the teaching and instruction of God himself, without intermediary. Thus the Prophet said: "I knew my Lord by my Lord."[18]

Man comes to receive this knowledge when he is reborn, emerging from his own existence, for by virtue of that rebirth he moves from his own presence to that of God. Thus God said to the Prophet: "Thou receivest the Qur'an from the presence of One all-wise, all-knowing."[19] And Jesus said: "He who is not born

[14]Qur'an, 7:144.
[15]Tradition recorded by Boḵārī, Moslem, Nasā'ī, Termeẕī, and Ebn Ḥanbal.
[16]Qur'an, 55:1-2.
[17]Qur'an, 21:80.
[18]Tradition; source unknown.
[19]Qur'an, 27:6.

twice shall not penetrate the kingdom of the heavens and the earth."[20]

This second birth takes place as follows. When, at the beginning, the sincere *morīd* places his foot on the path of search in accordance with the words "those who strive for Our sake" and when, with the lasso of the rapturous states bestowed by God's grace, he averts the gaze of his heart from all that is familiar to instinctual nature and pleasurable to the soul, directing it instead toward the Mighty Presence—then will God, in accordance with His custom of "verily We shall guide them to Our paths,"[21] display the beauty of the perfect and accomplished shaikh in the mirror of the *morīd*'s heart. This relates to the wayfarer, not to the one whom God has drawn unto Himself, for the latter is not fitted to be a shaikh. A wayfarer may also be one of those who are drawn unto God, but he is different from the one who is so drawn without any wayfaring.

When the sincere *morīd* has beheld the beauty of a shaikh in the mirror of his heart, he will forthwith fall in love with that beauty, and all repose and tranquillity will leave him. This state of loverhood is the source of all felicities. Unless the *morīd* is enamored of the beauty of the shaikh's sainthood, he cannot quit the domain of his own will and choice and enter that of the shaikh's will. The sense of the word *morīd* is he who desires the wish of the shaikh, not his own wish. His duty is therefore what is indicated in these verses:

O heart! If thou seekest the beloved's good pleasure,
So act and speak as she orders thee.
If she says, "weep blood," ask not, "for what?"
And if, "give up the ghost," ask not, "but when?"

When the sincere *morīd* is enamored of the beauty of the shaikh's sainthood, there appears in him the fitness to receive the workings of that sainthood. The *morīd* is like an egg, imprisoned in the eggshell of his human state with its different

[20]Cf. St. John, III:3: "Except a man be born again, he cannot see the kingdom of God."
[21]Qur'an, 29:69.

aspects, unable to attain the rank of hen (that is, being God's chosen bondsman). When he is accorded the favor of being able to submit to the workings of his shaikh's sainthood, then the shaikh will take him under the wing of his sainthood like an egg, devoting to him all his lofty aspiration and closely observing his state. Thus, just as the effect of the hen on the egg becomes apparent, changing it from egghood and bringing it forth as a hen, so too does the lofty aspiration of the shaikh work its effect on the egglike being of the *morīd,* transmuting it into the hen-hood of being God's chosen bondsman.

Now the material hen emerges from the eggshell into the outer aspect of this world, since it was created for this world. But the hen in our allegory travels a path leading inward, and emerges through an aperture opening onto the world of Dominion, since it was created for that world. Furthermore, since the material hen that hatches the egg is already in the outer world, while the hen that is to be born is concealed in the *malakūt* of the egg, the effect produced is to bring it forth from the *malakūt* of the egg into the world of form. With the allegorical hen and egg, however, matters are the reverse, since the shaikh's sainthood is not in the outer world. For the shaikh does not consist of the head and beard that men see; the true shaikh is the reality situated at the station of proximity to God's attributes, "in a seat of sincerity,"[22] beneath the dome of God. For "My saints are beneath My domes; none knows them but I,"[23] and they are exempt from the gaze of all others. This feeble one says:

The men of His path are alive with a different life;
  The birds in His sky come from a different nest.
Do not look upon them with this eye of thine,
  For they are beyond both realms, in a different world.

Thus the hen of the *morīd*'s being that was concealed and deposited in the *malakūt* of the egg of his human state will be brought forth by the workings of the shaikh's aspiration, through an aperture opening onto the world of Dominion, into

[22]Qur'an, 54:55.
[23]*Ḥadīṣ qodsī* quoted on p. 235.

the spacious sky of Ipseity;[24] and be born, from the loins of sainthood and the womb of morīdhood, into the station of proximity to God's attributes—"in a seat of sincerity, in the presence of a powerful king."[25]

Although the egg of the human state had been of this world, the hen of being God's chosen bondsman that was born from it belonged to the Divine Presence. When the egg of the human state of the Prophet, upon whom be peace, had not yet been laid by the hen of 'Abdollāh,[26] God called him Aḥmad—"there shall come after me one whose name is Aḥmad."[27] But when that egg had come into being and been nurtured with prophethood and messengerhood under Gabriel's wing, then He called him Moḥammad—"Moḥammad is naught but a messenger."[28] When he had been nurtured to perfection, had left behind egghood for henhood, and begun to fly in the station of "the distance of two bowstrings,"[29] then He called him His bondsman—"Glory be unto Him Who carried His bondsman by night from the sacred mosque."[30] This is so that you might know henhood to be the station of being God's chosen bondsman.

It is not, however, every hen that is fit for the station of shaikh, even though it has attained the degree of henhood, just as not every hen is able to hatch an egg. For a shaikh, a hen is needed that, after being nourished to perfection and attaining the powers of henhood, for a while enters anew the dominion of the cock and submits fully to it, so that the cock's workings upon it attain perfection. It will then produce eggs and be able to brood on them, and the eggs will be placed beneath it. For its power to act on the eggs will be certain, and the aim will be attained.

Similarly, when the sincere *morīd* has fully submitted to the

[24]Ipseity *(hovīyat):* "absolute reality, containing all realities within itself in the same way that a date kernel contains a date palm within it, in utter obscurity" (Jorjānī, *Ketāb al-ta'rīfāt,* p. 278).

[25]Qur'an, 54:55.

[26]'Abdollāh was the father of the Prophet.

[27]Qur'an, 61:6; the foretelling by Jesus of the mission of the Prophet Moḥammad.

[28]Qur'an, 3:144.

[29]Qur'an, 53:9.

[30]Qur'an, 17:1.

sainthood of the shaikh and been delivered of the shell of being, he must submit, in the station of henhood, to the workings of God's decrees of fate and destiny; carry for a while the burden of the obligation of His ordinances; sacrifice his hen-being to the workings of God's uncreate wisdom; immolate his existence in God's pre-eternal dictates; and require of himself all that was required of him in pre-eternity, not seeking to make God the Mighty subordinate to the wishes and accomplishments of his own being, for it is not fitting that God be subordinate.

When he has been submitted in this fashion for a while to the unmediated workings of God, there begin to appear within him the eggs of mystery and meaning, of truths and innate knowledge; like an oyster, he will become pregnant with gems and with pearls. The lights of those truths will cast rays through the apertures of his speech and his gaze, and he will enable the well-prepared being of sincere *morīds* to receive the workings of these influences. When this period has come to an end and it is time for the hen in its turn to work its effects upon other eggs, an indication from God or the permission of the shaikh—this being the outer form of God's indication—will appoint him to the station of shaikhhood, and give him leave to nurture the eggs of the *morīds'* beings.

In addition to all this, the conditions of the station of shaikh are beyond limit and number. Not only must the pillars that we have expounded be present in the shaikh, but also twenty other attributes, each to perfection. For if a single one of those attributes be defective, the degree of attainment will suffer corresponding damage and deficiency.

Of those twenty attributes, the first is knowledge. The shaikh must be acquainted with knowledge of the Law to the extent of essential need, so that if a *morīd* requires an answer to a pressing question of Law, he will be able to satisfy him.

The second is correct belief. The shaikh must hold the belief of the People of the Sunna and the Community, avoiding all taint of innovation,[31] so that he does not cast the *morīd* into inno-

[31]Innovation *(bed'at):* "any act opposed to the Sunna, so called because its author has invented it without any authority" *(Ketāb al-ta'rīfāt,* p. 44).

vation. For the deeds of the people of innovation do not lead to success and salvation.

The third is intelligence. The shaikh must have perfect intelligence, not only with respect to religion, but also with respect to worldly life, so that he may fulfill all conditions of preceptorship in training the *morīd*.

The fourth is liberality. The shaikh must be liberal, supplying the *morīd* with all that he needs, so that he frees him of all care for food, drink, and clothing, and the *morīd* is able to devote himself fully to the work of religion.

The fifth is courage. The shaikh must be courageous, brave and unafraid, paying no heed to men's blame and chattering tongues, so that he does not refuse any *morīd* on account of men's words, and is able to protect him against the envious and malicious.

The sixth is chastity. The shaikh must be chaste of soul so that no evil befall the *morīd* at his hands, and no corruption infect him, for the novice is powerless against him.

The seventh is loftiness of aspiration. He must pay no attention to the world beyond what is essential, even though he has attained a position of strength where the world cannot harm him. He must not strive to accumulate property, nor covet the *morīd*'s property. For then the *morīd* would disapprove and his effort would be weakened, and there is no affliction or misfortune worse for the *morīd* than disapproval of the states of his shaikh.

The eighth is compassion. The shaikh must be compassionate toward his *morīd* and gradually urge him to the work, not imposing on him a burden he cannot bear, but instead gently and circumspectly setting him to work. When the *morīd* is in a state of contraction, through the workings of his sainthood he should remove from him the burden of contraction and bestow expansion[32] on him. But if he becomes too absorbed in expansion, let

[32]Contraction and expansion: see p. 133, n. 19, and p. 68, n. 28.

him impose some contraction on him and take back expansion. He should be constantly aware of the states of the *morīd.*

The ninth is forbearance. The shaikh must be forbearing and tolerant, not swift to take anger at anything. He should not cause pain to the *morīd* unless it be by way of chastisement, lest the *morīd* take fright and flee from the trap of discipleship.

The tenth is forgiveness. The shaikh must be constantly forgiving so that if the *morīd* commits some act arising from human weakness, he may overlook it and forgive him.

The eleventh is sweetness of temper. The shaikh must be sweet-tempered in order not to frighten the *morīd* away with harshness, and in order for the *morīd* to learn good morals from him. For the character of the *morīd* is a mirror to the deeds, states, and morals of the shaikh.

The twelfth is selflessness. There must be selflessness in the shaikh so that he prefers the interests of the *morīd* to his own, and devotes to him all that he has—"They prefer them to their own selves, though poverty become their lot."[33]

The thirteenth is generosity. There must be the generosity of sainthood in the shaikh, so that he is able to be munificent to the *morīd* with the same generosity.

The fourteenth is reliance upon God. The power of reliance must be present within the shaikh so that he does not fret over the sustenance of the *morīd* or refuse him for fear of being unable to provide for him.

The fifteenth is submission. The shaikh must be submitted to the unseen, so that when God Almighty brings to him whomsoever He wills and takes from him whomsoever He wills, he is neither excessively eager to receive a *morīd* nor discouraged by his departure. He will not say, "I labor in vain," and wish to withdraw and devote himself to his own affairs, neglecting his *morīds.* Rather, in all circumstances he should surrender to the

[33]Qur'an, 59:9.

divine will and fulfil the duties of servitude. Whoever comes to him he should know to have been brought to him by God, and consider service to him as service to God; and whoever leaves him he should know God to have taken him. Thus he will experience neither increase with their coming nor decrease with their departure.

The sixteenth is contentment with destiny. The shaikh must be content with God's decree. In the training of *morīds,* after fulfilling the conditions of shaikhhood and striving in servitude, he should be content with whatever God ordains for the *morīds* —finding or not finding, acceptance or rejection—and not object to God's pre-eternal decree.

The seventeenth is dignity. The shaikh must live with his *morīds* in dignified and respectable fashion so that they do not become insolent and impudent, with veneration and respect for him leaving their hearts, for that would inflict harm on their effort. The great have said that the shaikh is more deserving of veneration than one's own father.

The eighteenth is tranquillity. There must be perfect tranquillity in the shaikh, and he must not show haste in anything, but exert his influence on the *morīd* slowly so that he does not turn away in his rawness.

The nineteenth is steadfastness. The shaikh must be steadfast and of firm resolve in all matters and fulfill his undertakings to the *morīd,* not neglecting the *morīd*'s claims through inconstancy and disloyalty, nor averting his aspiration from him at every turn.

The twentieth is awesomeness. The shaikh must be awesome, so that the *morīd* has esteem, veneration, and awe of him in his heart, and he behaves courteously, whether in the presence or the absence of the shaikh. From the awesomeness of the shaikh's sainthood, the soul of the *morīd* will gain humility and tranquillity. Satan, seeing the protective shadow cast over the disciple by this awesomeness, will not dare to exert any influence upon him.

Thus when the shaikh possesses these accomplishments and stations, and is adorned and qualified by these noble attributes and characteristics, the sincere *morīd* will attain his purpose and goal in a short time, protected by the auspiciousness of the shaikh's sainthood.

The *morīd* must in turn be adorned with the attributes of his station and fulfill its conditions and customs, as shall soon be set forth, God Almighty willing. It will then be an instance of "light upon light; and God guides to His light whomsoever He wills."[34] Then too the grace of God will be joined to the strivings of the *morīd,* and it is that grace which is the root and essence of the matter: "That is the grace of God; He bestows it upon whomsoever He wills."[35]

And peace be upon Moḥammad and all his family.

[34]Qur'an, 24:35.
[35]Qur'an, 5:59, 57:21, 62:4.

Eleventh Chapter:
Concerning the Conditions, Attributes, and Customs of the Morīd

God Almighty said: "And if thou followest me, then ask me not concerning aught until I introduce mention of it to thee."[1]

The Prophet, upon whom be peace and blessings, said: "It is a duty upon you to hear and obey your rightful leader, even if it be an Abyssinian slave."[2]

Know that the state of *morīd* ("desiring")[3] is a great good fortune and the seed of all felicities. It is not a human attribute but rather a ray from the lights of the divine attribute of desiring or willing.[4] Thus Shaikh Abu'l-ḥasan Ḵaraqānī says: "God desired Himself when He desired us." Morīdship is an attribute pertaining to the divine essence, and unless God Almighty manifests Himself with this attribute to the spirit of His bondsman, the reflection of the light of morīdship will not appear in the heart of the bondsman and he will not become a *morīd*.

When this seed of felicity is cast into the soil of the heart by divine bestowal, it must not be left to perish. For at the beginning that light is like a spark of fire struck from a flint. If it is not succored with sulphur and assisted with dry firewood, it will return to haughty seclusion and withdraw to the lair of the unseen.

Aiding the light of morīdship lies in submission to the training and influence of a perfect and efficacious shaikh, like an egg lying beneath the wing of the hen, as was described in the preceding chapter, so that the shaikh may fulfill all the conditions of training the *morīd* and cause him swiftly to reach his goal. If someone wishes to train himself, with the vision of his own in-

[1]Qur'an, 18:71.
[2]Tradition recorded by Boḵārī, Moslem, Termeẕī, Ebn Māja, and Ebn Ḥanbal.
[3]In view of the context, we have translated *erādat* ("will") as the state of the *morīd*.
[4]Cf. Qur'an, 11:107: "Verily thy Lord enacts whatsoever He wills."

tellect and his own knowledge, he will never advance. He will risk, moreover, falling into the abyss of destruction and error and be exposed to the loss of faith, for through the proud and boastful imaginings of his soul and the insinuations of Satan, he will have cast himself into the perilous wildernesses of this unending path.

And if someone, deceived by his own soul and by Satan, should say the only guides on this path are the Prophet, upon whom be peace, and the favor of God Almighty, and that the Qur'an and the science of the Law are all in exposition of God's path, so that there is no need of a shaikh, the answer to him is the following: Without doubt the guides on this path are the Prophet, God's favor, the Qur'an, and the science of the Law. But the whole matter may be compared to the coming of skilled physicians who, aided by divine inspiration, after toiling and struggling for whole lifetimes, discovered different types of sickness and disease; learned the properties of drugs and made electuaries and potions; and described each of these in books and drew up compendia of the medical sciences, both theoretical and practical. A group of pupils then learned those sciences from them; practiced the methods of healing in their presence; were initiated into the task of medicine; and accumulated diverse experiences. In imitation of their masters they began practicing as physicians, training in turn another group that had the capacity to learn these sciences and bringing them to perfection.

Thus did pupils arise in each race of men, generation after generation. In the present age, if anyone afflicted with a disease yearns for health and wishes for treatment, what does he do? Does he refer to the books of the physicians and make use, according to his own reasoning, of the ready-made electuaries that are available at the druggist's shop? Does he pay no attention to physicians and try to cure himself from books according to his own intelligence, despite his lack of experience and knowledge? Or does he refer to the physicians; wait on the presence of those who have gained experience in the science of medicine; and submit himself to them, taking every electuary they concoct for him and drinking every potion they give him, whether sweet or bitter? Does he refrain from treating himself according to his own whim, and from casting dear life to the winds?

Similarly, in the Qur'an are contained all the sciences of religious medicine that pertain to the cure for the disease of "in their hearts is a sickness."[5] "We send down of the Qur'an that which is a cure and a mercy for the believers."[6] Indeed, the Qur'an is like a druggist's shop in which all electuaries and potions have been assembled—"neither wet nor dry but in a Book perspicuous."[7] The Prophet, upon whom be peace, was the skilled physician of religion, acquainted with every sickness and treating each one appropriately ("Verily thou dost guide to a straight path)."[8] The Companions, as his gifted pupils, learned the science of medicine from that excellent one, and each of them attained perfection in the art of curing—"My Companions are like the stars; whichever ye follow ye will be guided aright."[9]

Thus, generation after generation, first the Followers[10] received this knowledge from the Companions, then the Followers of the Followers[11] from them, and so on until the present day. God has granted each generation some particular insight into this knowledge, so that knowing the disposition of the people of their age, they have been able to extract and deduce appropriate remedies from the Canon[12] of the Qur'an—"Whoever strives for correct results shall attain them."[13] Each generation has also composed numerous books on the different sciences of religious medicine—that is, the Law—both theoretical and practical.

Now when the practitioner is himself afflicted, he cannot cure himself from books, merely by the exercise of his intelligence,

[5]Qur'an, 2:10.
[6]Qur'an, 17:82.
[7]Qur'an, 6:59.
[8]Qur'an, 42:53.
[9]Tradition; Forūzānfar, *Aḥadīs̱-e Mas̱navī*, pp. 19, 35.
[10]The Followers: the second generation of Muslims, those who met one or more of the Companions (i.e., those who had met or seen the Prophet, without necessarily enjoying any prolonged intimacy with him).
[11]The Followers of the Followers: the third generation of Muslims; those who met one or more of the Followers.
[12]A reference to the epitome of medicine composed under the title of *Qānūn* (Canon, in its Latin translation) by the great philosopher and scientist Avicenna (d. 980/1037). The word *qānūn* may also mean "code" in this context, as it does elsewhere in the book; the ambiguity is deliberate.
[13]Part of a Tradition recorded, with slightly different wording, by Bok̲ārī, Moslem, Dāremī, Nasā'ī, Ebn Māja, and Ebn Ḥanbal.

even though he be a master of the science. For it has been said, "The sight of the ill is itself sick." He needs a skillful and experienced physician who will know the different temperaments and be fully acquainted with the Canon of medicine, theoretical and practical, and thus able to prescribe the treatment appropriate to each sickness. For even though it be the same sickness, an old man requires one form of treatment, a young man another, and an infant yet another. There is much difference between the temperaments of an infant, an adolescent, a youth, a mature man, and an aged man. There is also much difference among persons, and it is possible that ten infants may all differ with respect to pulse, temperament, and strength or weakness. There are, moreover, differences determined by city, climate, and season.[14] The skillful physician must know all these and pay due regard to such subtleties so that the illness will decline and health reappear, in accordance with the Tradition: "Seek to cure, for He Who has sent down the disease has also sent down the remedy."[15]

But if, as we said, the skillful physician himself is afflicted, it is not fitting that he should treat himself, for his discernment will be affected by illness. He needs a physician sound in discernment and healthy in body for the treatment to be of use, for proper treatment is not to be had of a sick physician: "The physician who would cure others is himself ill."

Thy scholar is asleep, and thou sleepest too;
How might one sleeper awaken another?[16]

Once this truth is realized, none should be deceived by the wiles of Satan and the whims of the soul into relying upon himself and his own knowledge. When the seed of morīdship has been cast into the soil of the heart, one should regard it as a great prize and cherish it as a guest from the world of the unseen, giving it appropriate nourishment. That nourishment is to be had only at the breast of the shaikh's sainthood, for the seed of

[14]Concerning these principles of traditional medicine, see Nasr, *Science and Civilization in Islam*, p. 228.
[15]Tradition recorded by Ebn Ḥanbal.
[16]A line from Sanā'ī *(Dīvān*, p. 182).

morīdship is like an infant newly born from the world of the unseen, and must be fed at the breast of the people of the unseen.

Let the *morīd* arise, then, in search of a perfect shaikh, and let him go wherever a sign of him is to be had, east or west, and having found him, let him cleave to his service. Whatever binds his foot and restrains him from the service of the shaikhs, let him sever it with the strong arm of morīdship and not bind himself with any excuse. For then he would be deprived of this great fortune, and the loss would be deplorable.

> Whate'er holds thee back from the Friend,
>   Fair words or foul, it is the same![17]

In truth, until the *morīd* is satiated with his own existence, he is not man enough to accomplish this task of severance. As this feeble one said—

> One tired of his own self is needed,
>   One who left body and soul is needed.
> At each step a thousand or more fetters—
>   A swift-paced breaker of fetters is needed.

Whatever the *morīd* destroys and overturns on his path, God Almighty will recompense him for his losses in this world and the hereafter, in accordance with the verse, "Verily We shall reward them for the best of that which they were doing."[18] As for that host of relatives and kinsmen that he left behind and whose fragile hearts he wounded with his departure, to each of them God Almighty will grant a certain rank, degree, and reward that shall be a mending for the rupture they suffered. For one of the divine attributes is *jabbār,*[19] and one of the meanings of the word is "the mender of fractures." God shall say: "O helpless one! All that thou has broken in thy search for My dominical being, I shall mend with My dominical generosity; and I shall pay the

[17]A line from Sanā'ī *(Dīvān,* p. 51).
[18]Qur'an, 16:97.
[19]The common meaning of *jabbār* as a divine attribute is "overpowering": "He Who irresistibly exercises His will with respect to all things" (Ḡazālī, *al-Maqṣad al-asnā,* p. 78).

blood money for every heart thou hast wounded—

> If Gabriel should molest thee, then spill his blood,
> And take the blood money from the treasury of
> My mercy.[20]

"But if thou art held back from Me, and all of creation is thine, it will never compensate thy loss:

> If thou hast all but hast not Me, thou hast naught;
> And if thou has naught but hast Me, thou hast all."

Once, one of the great to whom the Divine Presence was unveiled heard himself addressed, saying: "I am that necessity that cleaves to thee; cleave then to thy necessity." That is, "Thou mayest dispense with thyself, but not with Me; cleave then to the indispensable."

When the *morīd* has attached himself to the presence of the shaikh and done away with all obstacles and attachments, he must possess twenty attributes to keep the company of the shaikh in fitting manner and to attain perfect wayfaring on the path.

The first is the station of repentance. He must repent sincerely of all his contraventions of the Law and lay his repentance as a firm foundation, for it is upon it that shall be raised the structure of all his deeds. If the foundation is faulty, faults will appear in the outcome of the work; it will be as naught, and all effort will have been in vain. Let the *morīd* practice repentance at each station on the path, for each station of wayfaring has a sin peculiar to it, and repentance should be made of that sin. Thus the Prophet, upon whom be peace and blessings, despite the perfection of his station as the Beloved of God and despite the good fortune mentioned in the verse "that God might forgive thee thy sins, those gone before and those that come after,"[21] still engaged in repentance and said: "Temptation comes to my heart, and I seek forgiveness of God seventy times a day."[22]

[20]A line from Sanā'ī *(Dīvān,* p. 450).
[21]Qur'an, 48:1.
[22]Tradition recorded by Bok̲ārī and Ebn Ḥanbal.

The second is renunciation. The *morīd* must completely avert himself from worldly goods, retaining nothing, small or great. If he has relatives and dependents, let him divide everything among them according to God's injunctions; and if he has no relatives, let him place all his property at the disposal of the shaikh for him to use for the benefit of the *morīds*. He should be content with whatever the shaikh gives him by way of food and clothing.

The third is the abandonment of family ties. The *morīd* must be unattached, severing all attachments, acquired or inherited, in the kindest fashion, lest his mind turn toward them: "Truly, among your wives and your children are enemies for you, so beware of them."[23]

The fourth is correct belief. The *morīd* must hold the belief of the People of the Sunna and Community, avoiding all innovation and adhering to the school of one of the Imams of former generations. He should be untainted by anthropomorphism, abstractionism, Shi'ism, and Mu'tazilism, but also free of fanaticism, not regarding as unbelievers any group that prays toward the *qebla,* nor considering it permissible to utter curses.

The fifth is fear of God. The *morīd* must be abstemious and full of fear, cautious with respect to the food he eats and the clothes he wears,[24] without, however, going to excess and falling into fastidiousness, which is also reprehensible. He should fulfill his fundamental religious duties as far as he is able, not seeking dispensation,[25] and also do his utmost to remain pure and clean, again without an excess of zeal that leads to fastidiousness. In all cases he should observe the command of "Abandon that which causes you doubt for that which does not cause you doubt."[26]

The sixth is patience. The *morīd* must be patient when submitted to the workings of the injunctions and prohibitions of the

[23]Qur'an, 64:14.

[24]By caution with respect to food and clothing is meant the exercise of care to see that what one eats and wears is in every respect in conformity with the Law.

[25]Dispensation *(roḵṣat):* see p. 195, n. 15.

[26]Tradition recorded by Boḵārī, Termeḏī, and Ebn Ḥanbal.

Law, and the commands given him by his shaikh in accordance with the Law. He should endure all severities and never leave himself open to discouragement and lassitude. If some such sentiment appears in him, he should expel it by conscious effort, and show fortitude and patience. For the Prophet, upon whom be peace, said: "Whoever shows patience, God gives him patience."[27]

The seventh is struggle against the soul. The *morīd* must always keep the steed of the soul tied with the bridle of struggle, never relenting toward it except to the degree necessary. As far as he is able, he should not satisfy the soul, and remain steadfast in this refusal. For the soul is like a hungry lion: When you fill its stomach, it gains new strength and consumes you.

The eighth is courage. The *morīd* must be manly and courageous in order to withstand the soul and its stratagems, and not care for the guile and cunning of Satan. For on this path demons in the form of men and jinn are numerous, and they can be repelled and subdued only by courage.

The ninth is readiness to sacrifice. There must be readiness to sacrifice and selflessness in the *morīd,* for miserliness is a heavy fetter and a thick veil. At some stations it becomes necessary to sacrifice this world and the hereafter, and sometimes life itself must be renounced.

The tenth is chivalrousness. The *morīd* must be chivalrous, granting all their due rights so far as he is able, without expecting his own rights from anyone.

The eleventh is sincerity. The *morīd* must base his spiritual work and his dealings with men upon sincerity, doing all that he does for the sake of God and completely ceasing to look in the direction of men.

The twelfth is knowledge. The *morīd* must acquire a degree of knowledge that will enable him to perform the religious duties

[27]Tradition recorded by Bokārī, Moslem, Abū Dā'ūd, Termeẕī, Dāremī, and Ebn Ḥanbal.

that are incumbent upon him, such as prayer, fasting, and the other pillars. He should not strive for knowledge in excess of this, for he would then fall back on the path, except when he has attained the goal in its perfection. If, however, he wishes to act as exemplary model and has gained the rank of leadership, study of the sciences of the Book and the Sunna will be useful, not harmful.

The thirteenth is a state of seeking. The *morīd* should never abandon his seekings at any station. If he falls into the state of complacency, he should bring himself back, by conscious effort, to that of seeking, for seeking is the station befitting the lover and complacency that befitting the beloved.

The fourteenth is daring. The *morīd* must travel this path daringly, for numerous difficult tasks will confront him. He must cast himself into them recklessly, with no thought of the outcome nor fear for his life. This feeble one said—

> See how daringly we go forth in love for the Friend,
> Boldly tossing our heads beneath our feet!
> Around the point of desire we trace out a circle,
> For our head ever turns around like the compass.
> The soul that we have, we sacrifice to the Friend,
> And if He so commands, we will mount the gallows.
> If death is being sold for the price of life, we'll buy it,
> For daring as a brigand we go forth to the Friend.
> What fear do we have of Hell, what concern with Paradise?
> Our hearts we have surrendered, and we go forth to
> the heart's keeper.

The fifteenth is reproach. The *morīd* must have the attribute of one who courts reproach and the character of a *qalandar*,[28] but not in the sense of contravening the Law and imagining this to be the desired state. No indeed; such is the path and guidance of Satan, and it is by virtue of this error that the antinomians have been borne off to hell. The true accepter of censure is he for whom good and evil repute, praise and blame, rejection and

[28]"Reproach" and *qalandar:* see p. 99, n. 18 and p. 100, n. 19.

acceptance by men are as one; who neither rejoices at men's friendship nor grieves at their hostility; and accounts all these opposites as the same. This feeble one said—

> Since narrow indeed is the path of love,
> No place it has for peace with self or war with others.
> The life of all men is spent in care of repute—
> O heedless ones, what place has repute, good or ill?

The sixteenth is intelligence. The actions of the *morīd* must be regulated by the use of the intelligence, so that he commits no act contrary to the pleasure, command, and custom of the shaikh, for then all his time and effort would be brought to naught by the blow of stray thoughts and the rejection of his shaikh's sainthood.

The seventeenth is courtesy. The *morīd* must be courteous and of refined manners, and forbid himself all slackness of demeanor. He should not speak in the presence of the shaikh until a question is addressed to him; and when he does speak, it should be calmly, gently, and honestly. He should always be waiting for the command of the shaikh, both inwardly and outwardly. If some complaint is raised against him or fault committed by him, he should immediately seek forgiveness, both inwardly and outwardly, and apologize and make amends in the best fashion.

The eighteenth is good nature. The *morīd* must be of constantly serene disposition and good temper, never irritable or cantankerous toward his companions. He should avoid arrogance, boastfulness, pride, pretentiousness, and ambitiousness, and live with his elder companions in modesty, humility, and the readiness to serve, treating his younger companions with compassion, kindness, affection, solicitude, and generosity. He should have endurance and tolerance, bearing the burdens others place on him, but placing no burdens on his companions. As far as he is able, he should serve his companions, but expect no service from them; always seek accord with them and avoid discord; both dispense and heed advice; and forbid himself debate and argument, enmity and dispute. He should regard all

his companions with respect and benevolence, despising neither the old nor the young, and constantly seeking to draw near to the Almighty Presence by serving them solicitously. When eating he should give up to others his own share of food, without coveting any part of their share.

He should restrain himself during *samā'*,[29] not moving unless impelled to by a certain spiritual or ecstatic state. When in such a state, he should avoid troubling his companions and so far as possible contain the *samā'* and its effect within himself. But if it overpowers him, he should move only as much as necessary, and when the ecstasy declines, he should control himself and not exaggerate its effect. During the *samā'*, he should conform to the rhythm of his companions, taking care not to disturb their state, and sacrificing his own state to theirs. He should approach those who are under the influence of ecstatic states respectfully and humbly. Furthermore, he should advance to and retreat from the foot of the shaikh with respect, and when he places his head at someone's foot, he should take care that it is not in the form of prostration, for this is forbidden. He should hold his hands behind his back, and put his face to the ground, not his forehead. In general, he should so conduct himself in the company of others that all hearts are content with him and he avoids troubling them.

The nineteenth is submission. The *morīd* must be submitted to the workings of the shaikh's sainthood, both inwardly and outwardly, effacing all influences that he exerts upon himself, and living entirely by the workings of the commands and prohibitions of the Law and the chastening of the shaikh. Outwardly he should be like a corpse in the hands of the corpse washer, and inwardly he should constantly seek refuge with the shaikh's inner being. In all actions that he wishes to undertake, whether in the presence or the absence of the shaikh, he should inwardly seek permission from the shaikh's sainthood: if he receives permission, then he may perform the deed, and if not, he must abandon it.

[29]*Samā':* the ritualized music and dance practiced by certain Sufis, particularly those of Khorasan and their heirs. For a full account of *samā'*, see Marijan Molé, "La Danse Extatique en Islam," in *Sources Orientales 6: Les Danses Sacrées* (Paris, 1963), pp. 147-280.

He should in no wise disapprove of the states and deeds of the shaikh, whether inwardly or outwardly. Whatever appears bad to him he should attribute to the evil of his beholding, not to any deficiency in the shaikh. If something appears to him to be in contradiction with the Law, he should believe that even though it appears so to him, in reality the shaikh is not contravening the Law. For his judgment in the matter is more developed, and all that he does is on the basis of his judgment, the correctness of which he can prove. Thus it was in the encounter of Moses with Ḵeżr, upon both of whom be peace. The condition imposed upon Moses by Ḵeżr was "If thou followest me, then ask me not concerning aught until I introduce mention of it to thee."[30] That is, "Whatever I do, do not object, nor ask me why I did it, until I see fit to tell you." And when Moses objected, three times Ḵeżr overlooked his fault, but then he said, "This is the separation between me and thee."[31] Know that it is the objecting that causes the real separation, even though it may not have the outward form of separation. Let the *morīd* then prohibit to himself all objecting and heed the command of "It is a duty upon you to hear and obey."[32]

The twentieth is abandonment. When the *morīd* sets out on the path of search, he must completely renounce his own being and devote himself to God's path, saying in sincerity, "I abandon my affair to God."[33] He should worship God not because of Paradise and Hell, of gain and loss, but rather out of pure servitude and the compulsion of love, being content with whatever the Mighty Presence decrees for him, and being diverted from that presence neither by joy nor by sorrow.

All my affairs I have entrusted to the Beloved;
If He wishes, He will quicken; if He wishes, He will kill.

The *morīd* should furthermore be steadfast on the highway of servitude and fulfill the conditions of sincere seeking. If a thousand times he hears a voice saying that he will not reach his

[30]Qur'an, 18:71.
[31]Qur'an, 18:79.
[32]Tradition quoted at the beginning of this chapter.
[33]Qur'an, 40:44.

goal, he should not desist from his efforts by even an atom. No affliction or trial should cause him to cease searching or lay down the work. This feeble one says—

Since the heart had thy love inscribed on its soul,
The rain of misfortune has ever poured down on it.
I swear by thy head, O beloved, I will never turn from thee,
Even if love's pain grows a thousandfold.

The *morīd* should not abandon the presence of the shaikh under any circumstances; even though the shaikh turns him away and drives him off a thousand times, he should not go. Let his resolve not be less than that of a fly, which always returns however much it is driven off. This indeed is the reason that the fly, in Arabic, is called *ẕobāb: ẕobba* ("it was driven off") *āba* ("it came back"). So if the *morīd* cannot be one of the peacocks of the path, at least he should not be less than a fly, "for both peacock and fly are necessary in this realm."[34]

When the sincere *morīd* fulfills all these conditions and the shaikh possesses all the attributes that have been mentioned, the true purpose and goal will emerge more swiftly from behind the veil of deprivation; the curtain of might will be removed from the visage of beauty; the traveler will attain his destination, the seeker his goal, and the lover his beloved: "Whosoever seeks Me shall of a certainty find Me."[35]

And peace be upon Moḥammad and his family.

[34]Half of a line by Sanā'ī *(Dīvān,* p. 254).
[35]Part of a *ḥadīs qodsī;* source unknown.

Twelfth Chapter:
Concerning the Need for Ẕekr and the Special Properties of the Ẕekr of lā elāha ellā'llāh

God Almighty said: "Make remembrance of Me, and I will make remembrance of you";[1] and also: "Make remembrance of God abundantly, that haply ye might prosper."[2]

The Prophet, upon whom be peace and blessings, said: "The best *ẕekr* is that of *lā elāha ellā'llāh,* and the best supplicatory prayer is that of *al-ḥamdo le'llāh.*"[3]

Know that the veils that beset wayfarers on the path are the result of forgetfulness. There is forgetfulness for this reason, that when the being of the spirit appeared in the primordial state, the very essence of its being was established as duality between itself and the Divine Presence. Although the spirit in the primordial state knew God to be one, its knowledge was not experiential,[4] for experiential knowledge of unity derives from witnessing, and witnessing is not compatible with existing, the one being the opposite of the other.[5] "And opposites do not meet."

The attachment of the spirit to the bodily frame was for the purpose of fathering two offspring, the soul and the heart,[6] so that when the spirit sacrificed its being at the station of witnessing—"truth has come and falsehood has vanished"[7]—it should have a successor to take its place. This is a great mystery, not within the reach of everyone's understanding.

[1]Qur'an, 2:147.
[2]Qur'an, 8:46, 42:10.
[3]Tradition recorded by Ebn Māja. *Lā elāha ellā'llāh* ("there is no god but God") we leave, in the context of *ẕekr,* deliberately untranslated because of its untranslatable multiplicity of meaning and effect. *Al-ḥamdo le'llāh:* "Praise and thanks be to God."
[4]In this sentence, Dāya uses the two verbs *dānestan* and *šenāḵtan* in contrasting senses. I have taken the second, which generally means knowing in the sense of having acquaintance, to mean "experiential knowledge" in this context.
[5]I.e., existing as part of an undifferentiated whole (the primordial state) does not permit the witnessing that becomes possible only with the differentiation of seer and seen.
[6]See p. 192.
[7]Qur'an, 17:81.

Now just as the spirit in the world of the primordial state had no experiential knowledge of God in His perfection and unity, so too it was unable to make pure remembrance of Him: it made remembrance both of itself and of God. This was a *ẕekr* or remembrance sullied by other than God, whereas God says: "Make remembrance of God when thou hast forgotten."[8] That is, "Make remembrance of Me after forgetting all other than Me, so that none else shares in the remembrance."

As the spirit passed through the worlds of Kingship and Dominion on its way to join the bodily frame, it retained a memory of all that it beheld. By virtue of that memory its remembrance of God was lessened, to such an extent that some were so enveloped by the veils resulting from the memory of different objects that they totally forgot God. Then God Almighty expelled them from the memory of His grace—"They forgot God and He forgot them."[9]

When the veils of forgetfulness appeared—this being the cause for the disease of "in their hearts is a sickness"[10]—of necessity God prescribed, from the apothecary of the Qur'an, "make remembrance of God abundantly,"[11] for it has been said that cure is effected by opposites. Then deliverance might be had from the veils and the disease of forgetfulness—"that haply ye might prosper."[12]

As for the special properties of the *ẕekr* of *lā elāha ellā'llāh,* they derive from His saying: "to Him do good words ascend."[13] The words meant here are *lā elāha ellā'llāh,* and it is they that may attain the Mighty Presence. They contain both negation and affirmation, and the disease of forgetfulness can be repulsed by the medicine of negation and affirmation. For forgetfulness is likewise composed of negation and affirmation—negation of the remembrance of God and affirmation of the remembrance of other than God. A potion mixed like oxymel out of the vinegar

[8]Qur'an, 18:24.
[9]Qur'an, 9:68.
[10]This phrase occurs in Qur'an, 2:10, and ten other verses.
[11]Qur'an, 33:41.
[12]Qur'an, 8:45.
[13]Qur'an, 35:10.

of negation and the sugar of affirmation is therefore needed to eliminate the bilious matter of forgetfulness. By *la elāha,* other than God is negated, and by *ellā'llāh,* His majestic presence is affirmed. When one pursues this *ẕekr* and persists in it, the attachments of the spirit to other than God will be gradually severed by the scissors of *la elāha,* and the beauty of the monarch of *ellā'llāh* will become manifest and emerge from the veil of might. In accordance with the promise of "make remembrance of Me, and I will make remembrance of you,"[14] that beauty will cast off the garment of letter and sound; and in the manifestation of the light of the sublimity of divinity, the property of "all things shall perish but His face"[15] will become apparent. The *ẕekr* of the spirit, together with its own being, will perish in the ocean of remembrance of "make remembrance of Me," and "I will make remembrance of you" will begin making remembrance on behalf of the spirit. It is then that pure remembrance of God alone will be attained.

Then does He hear from Himself, not from me or thee:
"To whom belongs kingship? To the One, the Invincible!"[16]

The true meaning of "God bears witness that there is no god but He"[17] will become apparent; and Yūsof b. Ḥoseyn Rāzī's cryptic saying that "none says 'God' but God" will be understood.[18] It will also become evident why Islam has been founded on precisely these words—*lā elāha ellā'llāh.* For in just the same way that deliverance from the inward association of gods with God is to be had only through the inner meaning of these words, so too the outward association of gods with God can be abolished only by means of their outer form.

Wield the sword of *lā elāha* throughout creation,
So the whole world is purged for *ellā'llāh.*

And peace be upon Moḥammad and his family.

[14]Qur'an, 2:147.
[15]Qur'an, 28:88.
[16]The second half of this line is taken from Qur'an, 40:16.
[17]Qur'an, 3:18.
[18]Yūsof b. Ḥoseyn Rāzī (d. 343/916), an associate of many of the leading early Sufis, whose recorded sayings are mostly concerned with *ẕekr* ('Aṭṭar, *Taẕkerat al-owliyā,* I, pp. 280-286).

Thirteenth Chapter:
Concerning the Method of Ẕekr, Its Conditions and Customs

God Almighty said: "Make remembrance of God as ye do of your fathers, or with more lively remembrance."[1] And also: "Make remembrance of thy Lord in thy soul, in supplication and fear, without thy word being audible, at morning and evening."[2]

The Prophet, upon whom be peace and blessings, said: "Go forth, for the unattached have preceded you." He was asked: "Who are the unattached, O Messenger of God?" He said: "Those who tremble with the remembrance of God, until the *ẕekr* removes their burdens from them and they come to resurrection lightly laden."[3]

Know that to perform *ẕekr* without observing its customs and conditions is of only slight utility; one must first observe the arrangement, customs, and conditions of *ẕekr*. When the painful longing of the search and the impulse of wayfaring appear in the sincere *morīd*, the sign of this state is that he becomes attached to *ẕekr* and shuns men's company, turning away from all and taking refuge in *ẕekr*. "Say, *'Allāh,'* then leave them to play at their vain talk."[4] When he wishes to pursue constant *ẕekr*, he must base his practice on the foundation of sincere repentance for all his sins.

When making *ẕekr*, he should if possible make a complete ablution, and failing that a partial one, and put on clean clothes in accordance with the Sunna. He should then prepare an empty, dark, and clean room; and it will be fitting too if he perfumes the room by burning some fragrant substance. Then he should sit facing the *qebla* crosslegged. To sit crosslegged is forbidden at all times except when making *ẕekr*, for the Prophet after performing the dawn prayer would sit in his place crosslegged, performing *ẕekr* until sunrise.

[1]Qur'an, 2:200.
[2]Qur'an, 7:204.
[3]Tradition recorded by Moslem, Ebn Ḥanbal, and Termeẕī.
[4]Qur'an, 6:91.

When beginning the *zekr,* the *morīd* should place his hands on his thighs, ensure that his heart is concentrated and alert, close his eyes, and then, with the utmost reverence, begin saying the words *lā elāha ellā'llāh* with all his strength. He should bring the words *lā elāha* up from the navel, and direct the words *ellā'llāh* down into the heart, in such manner that the effect and power of the *zekr* reach all his members. He should not, however, pronounce the words aloud, but rather conceal and lower his voice as much as possible, as God said: "Make remembrance of thy Lord in thy soul, in supplication and fear, without thy word being audible."

The *morīd* should make *zekr* in this fashion, vigorously and unceasingly, pondering the meaning of the *zekr* in his heart. When he ponders the meaning of *lā elāha,* he should negate any stray thoughts that enter his heart, saying to himself: "I desire nothing and seek nothing, and have no aim or object of love, *ellā'llāh*—other than God." Having negated all stray thoughts with *lā elāha,* he affirms the Mighty Presence as his sole aim, purpose, and object of love with *ellā'llāh.*

He must be inwardly alert and present both at the beginning of the *zekr,* which is the negation, and at its end, which is the affirmation. Whenever looking within his heart he sees something to which the heart has formed attachment, he fixes his gaze upon it and vows his heart to the Mighty Presence. Seeking succor from the aspiration inherent in the shaikh's sainthood, he abrogates all ties of the heart with the negation of *lā elāha,* and uproots all love from it; then, with the affirmation of *ellā'llāh,* he causes love of God to take the place of all other love.

The *morīd* then persists in this fashion until the heart is gradually purged and emptied of all that is beloved of it and familiar to it, for trembling in remembrance comes only with persistence. Trembling consists of this, that the being of the one engaged in *zekr* is overpowered by its effect and dissolved in its light. His *zekr* causes him to become unattached: it removes all obstacles in his path and all attachments, and conveys him lightly laden from this world of corporeality to the hereafter of spirituality. It is to this that the Tradition, "Go forth, for the unattached have preceded you," refers.

Know that the heart is the secluded shrine of God, for "Neither My earth nor My heavens may contain Me, but the heart of My believing slave may contain Me."[5] As long as the troublesome presence of others is to be observed in the heart's court, His jealous pride and might will prevent Him from joining them. But once the lieutenant of *lā elāha* has cleared the court of their presence, one must wait expectantly for the approach of the manifestation of the king of *ellā'llāh*—"So when thou art empty, labor and incline unto thy Lord."[6]

Clear the court, for the king comes unannounced;
Once the pavilion is clear, then the monarch comes.[7]

The *morīd* should also be fully convinced that he will obtain full benefit from the *ẕekr* only when it is transmitted to him by a shaikh possessing the ability to direct him. For the arrow serves to protect only when it is taken from the king's quiver. If bought from the shop of the arrowmaker, it does not bestow protection on the whole kingdom, and serves only to repel a personal enemy. This will be explained later, God Almighty willing.[8]

And God's blessings be upon Moḥammad and his family.

[5] *Ḥadīs̱ qodsī* previously quoted on p. 219.
[6] Qur'an, 94:8.
[7] Half of a quatrain by Afżal al-Dīn Kāšānī (*Moṣannafāt*, II, p. 759).
[8] This metaphor is not in fact explained later in the text. Dāya presumably is comparing *ẕekr* received from a shaikh by way of transmission to the arrow taken from a king's quiver, and *ẕekr* practiced without such transmission to an arrow bought from the arrowmaker. The metaphor is apt because archery is endowed with nobility by a Tradition: "There are three whom God leads to Paradise by means of the same arrow: he who makes it, he who fires it, and he who retrieves it." *Ẕekr* is also described in Qur'an, 4:9, as "words that hit the mark."

Fourteenth Chapter:
Concerning the Need of the Morīd for Transmission of Ẕekr by the Shaikh, and the Property of Such Transmission

God Almighty said: "O ye who believe! Fear God and speak words that hit the mark,"[1] that is, say *lā elāha ellā'llāh.*

The Prophet, upon whom be peace and blessings, said: "Say *lā elāha ellā'llāh,* and ye shall prosper."[2]

Know that the *ẕekr* of imitation is different from the *ẕekr* of realization. That which comes from men's mouths and enters the gate of outer hearing is the *ẕekr* of imitation. It has little effect, and resembles an unripe and uncultivated seed that fails to grow when sown in the earth. The *ẕekr* of realization is that which is sown through transmission by a shaikh possessed of sainthood in the well-prepared soil of the *morīd*'s heart.

The *ẕekr* that the possessor of sainthood transmits is the fruit of the tree of his sainthood, for he too received the seed of *ẕekr* through transmission by men possessing sainthood. It was then nurtured in the soil of his heart with the succoring water of the shaikh's aspiration, so that it gradually grew into the tree of sainthood and yielded the fruit of *ẕekr* from the blossom of "I shall make remembrance of you."[3] Finally, when the fruit reached the full maturity of the station of shaikh, a seed was cast from it into the soil of the *morīd*'s heart.

When the seed of *ẕekr* is nurtured by sainthood; when the soil of the heart is ploughed by morīdship, cleared of the weeds of instinctual nature by the hand of the Path, and nourished by the sun of the shaikh's sincerity and the water of his aspiration—then the verdure of true faith will swiftly grow, for "*lā elāha ellā'llāh* causes faith to grow in the heart as water causes bean-

[1]Qur'an, 33:70.
[2]Tradition recorded by Ebn Ḥanbal.
[3]Qur'an, 2:147.

sprouts to grow."[4] It will increase daily until it becomes first the sapling of beneficence[5] and then, with further cultivation, the tree of gnosis.

The condition for transmission of *zekr* is that the *morīd* should fast for three days at the behest of his shaikh. During these three days, he should strive continuously to be in a state of ritual purity, and should engage constantly in *zekr,* making *zekr* to himself even while walking outside. He should have little intercourse with men, speak only when necessary, not eat much when breaking his fast, and spend most of the night awake in *zekr.*

After three days he should make a total ablution at the shaikh's command, performing it with the intention of one who is about to embrace Islam. For originally everyone who wished to enter the faith would first make a total ablution and then be instructed by the Prophet, upon whom be peace, in the words constituting the profession of faith. Let then the *morīd* make a total ablution in readiness for true Islam, in accordance with this Sunna, saying as he pours the water over himself: "O Lord, I have cleansed with water this body, which is under my control; cleanse Thou, with the gaze of grace, this heart, which is under Thy command."

When he has made a complete ablution, the *morīd* should go to the presence of the shaikh after the evening prayer. The shaikh will seat him facing the *qebla,* and himself sit with his back to the *qebla.* The *morīd* should sit on his knees facing the shaikh, with his hands placed on top of each other, and his heart in a state of alertness. The shaikh will then pronounce the necessary instructions, and the *morīd* should detach his heart from all things and cause it to face the shaikh's heart. With the utmost expectancy, he then waits for the shaikh to say *lā elāha ellā'llāh* the first time, aloud and with vigor. When the shaikh has finished saying it, the *morīd* should begin to say *lā elāha ellā'llāh* in the same tone as the shaikh, aloud and with vigor. The shaikh will then say it a second time, and the *morīd* will repeat it after

[4]Arabic utterance of undetermined origin.
[5]Beneficence *(eḥsān):* see p. 126, n. 13.

him; and a third time, and again the *morīd* will repeat it after him. Finally the shaikh will make a prayer, and the *morīd* will say "Amen."

When all this is completed, the *morīd* will arise and enter the cell of seclusion, there to devote himself to the cultivation of the seed of *ẕekr*. God Almighty willing, this will be described in the chapter on the conditions of seclusion.

The beginning of *ẕekr* in the heart of the *morīd* is like that of a tree newly planted. Thus God said: "God made a similitude—a goodly word like a goodly tree."[6] By the unanimous agreement of the exegetes, the "goodly word" is *lā elāha ellā'llāh*. When the tree of *ẕekr* is continually nurtured, its roots reach out from the heart to all the members and limbs of the body, in such a manner that from the crown of the head to the toenails, not a particle remains untouched by the roots of the tree of *ẕekr*.

When its roots become thus firmly established in the soil of the bodily frame, the tree of *ẕekr* begins to extend its branches toward the sky of the heart—"Its roots are firm and its branches are in the heavens."[7] At this point, the heart takes over the work of *ẕekr* from the tongue and begins clearly uttering *lā elāha ellā'llāh*. As soon as the heart begins engaging in *ẕekr*, the *ẕekr* of the tongue must be suspended so that the heart may perform its *ẕekr* properly without being distracted by the tongue. But whenever the heart ceases its *ẕekr*, the tongue must be put to work again until the heart becomes fully engaged in *ẕekr*. By the aid of the tongue, the tree of *ẕekr* is thus nurtured and enabled to strive upward. When it attains full development, the blossom of witnessing will begin to appear on its branches, and from this blossom will gradually emerge in turn the fruits of unveiling and of God-given knowledge—"It yields fruit in all seasons by the permission of its Lord."[8]

If, in the beginning, the seed had not been taken from the

[6]Qur'an, 14:24.
[7]Qur'an, 14:24.
[8]Qur'an, 14:25.

ripe fruit of sainthood, it would never have grown into a tree in this fashion.

ʿAbdollāh the son of ʿOmar—may God be pleased with them both—relates the following: "Once we were seated in the presence of the Prophet, upon whom be peace and blessings, together with a group of the Companions. The Prophet said: 'There is a tree that resembles the believers in that its leaves never wither. Tell me what it is.' Each of the Companions fell to guessing about some desert tree, one saying, 'it is this,' another saying, 'it is that.' The Prophet, upon whom be peace and blessings, said: 'It is neither this nor that.' It came to my mind that it must be the date palm, but Abū Bakr and ʿOmar—may God be pleased with them both—were present among the Companions, and I was loath to say in their presence anything they had not said. Then the Prophet said: 'It is the date palm.'"[9]

The date palm resembles the believer in this sense: The female date palm will not yield good dates unless it is given semen, impregnated, and fertilized. It is well known that each year a substance is taken from the spathe of the male tree and grafted onto that of the female tree in order for it to produce good dates. If this is not done, it will not bear fruit properly.

Similarly, when it is desired that the believer should yield the fruit of sainthood, he is impregnated and fertilized through the transmission of *ẕekr* by a shaikh possessing sainthood. Once transmission has taken place, the *morīd* must pursue and adhere to seclusion and isolation in accordance with the shaikh's command until the true fruit appears. This will be described later.

It is related of the Prophet that he once assembled a group of the foremost Companions in a room and ordered them to close the door. He then said aloud, three times, *lā elāha ellā'llāh,* and commanded the Companions to do likewise. They did so, and he then lifted up his hands and said: "O God, have I conveyed that which was to be conveyed?" Then he said, "Glad tidings be unto

[9]Tradition recorded by Boḵārī, Moslem, Termeẕī, and Ebn Ḥanbal.

you, that God Almighty has forgiven your sins."[10] The shaikhs of the Path have derived the transmission of *ẕekr* from this Sunna.

[10]Tradition recorded by Ebn Ḥanbal. In the Prophet's exclamation, "O God, have I conveyed that which was to be conveyed?" it may be permissible to see an allusion to Qur'an, 5:70 ("O Messenger, convey that which has been sent down to thee from thy Lord; if thou dost not, thou wilt not have fulfilled His mission"). The *ẕekr* is, after all, described elsewhere (Qur'an, 15:9) as having been "sent down." But it is of course true that the commentators mention circumstances for the revelation of 5:70 that are unconnected with *ẕekr*.

Fifteenth Chapter:

Concerning the Need for Seclusion, and Its Conditions and Customs

God Almighty said: "When We appointed for Moses forty nights."[1]

The Prophet, upon whom be peace and blessings, said: "Whoever worships God sincerely for forty nights, the springs of wisdom shall well up from his heart to this tongue."[2]

Know that the foundation of wayfaring on the path of religion and of attaining the stations of certainty is seclusion, withdrawal, and isolation from men. All the prophets and saints devoted themselves to seclusion at the beginning of their state, and persisted in it until they reached the goal. Thus 'Ā'eša, may God be pleased with her, relates concerning the Prophet that "seclusion was beloved of him." It is also related that "retirement to Ḥerā for a week or two weeks was beloved of him."[3] That is, he would spend one or two weeks in seclusion and worship on Mount Ḥerā, before the coming of the revelation. According to other versions, the period was one month. This feeble one has visited the Prophet's place of seclusion—may peace be upon him—on Mount Ḥerā near Mecca; it is a cave on the side of the mountain, filled with spirit.

When Moses, upon whom be peace, was granted the fitness to hear God's word without intermediary, God commanded him to observe forty days' seclusion—"when We appointed for Moses forty nights."

The number forty has a certain property with respect to the completion of things that other numbers lack. There is an authentic Tradition that "The creation of one of you is that he is a drop of sperm for forty days, collected in his mother's womb; then a drop of coagulated blood for another forty days; and then

[1]Qur'an, 2:51.
[2]Tradition recorded by Abū No'eym.
[3]Quoted in Bokārī, "Bāb kayfa kāna bad' al-waḥy."

a formless lump of flesh for a further forty days."[4] The Prophet, upon whom be peace, also said that the springs of wisdom would well up from the heart to the tongue as the result of forty days' sincere worship. Similarly, the kneading to perfection of the clay of Adam, upon whom be peace, was entrusted to a period of forty days;[5] and there are many other examples.

There are many conditions and customs attached to the observation of forty-day periods of seclusion. Among them, eight conditions are the most important, and if even one of these is only partially fulfilled, it will be difficult to attain the goal in its totality.

The first is to sit alone in an empty room, facing the *qebla* with the legs crossed and the hands placed on top of each other. The *morīd* should have made a total ablution, intending it to be like the washing of a corpse, and imagine the room to be his shroud, leaving it only to perform ablution and prayer and fulfill other needs. The room must be small and dark, with a curtain drawn over the door so that no light or sound penetrates. The senses will then cease functioning—seeing, hearing, speaking, and walking—and the spirit, no longer preoccupied with the senses and sensory phenomena, will direct itself to the world of the unseen. Moreover, once the senses have ceased functioning, the misfortunes that assail the spirit through the apertures of the five senses will be effaced by means of *ẕekr* and the negation of stray thoughts. The veils that derive from the senses will fall; the spirit will gain familiarity with the unseen; and its familiarity with men will cease.

The second is to be constantly in a state of ritual purity, so that the *morīd* will be armed and Satan unable to defeat him. For "purity is the weapon of the believer."[6]

The third is continuously to recite the words *lā elāha ellā'llāh*. God's saying, "Those who make remembrance of God standing

[4]Tradition previously quoted on p. 100.
[5]Allusion to the *ḥadīs̱ qodsī* "I kneaded the clay of Adam with My hands for forty days" (see p. 94).
[6]Tradition; source unknown.

and sitting and on their sides,"[7] implicitly commands continuous *z̲ekr*.

The fourth is persistence in negating stray thoughts. Whatever thought comes to the mind, whether good or bad, must be negated by *lā elāha*, as if the *morīd* were saying to himself, "I desire nothing but God." The verse "If ye reveal that which is in yourselves or conceal it, God will call you to account for it"[8] implicitly commands the negation of stray thoughts.[9] In truth, whatever thought comes to the heart leaves an impression on its page, whether good or bad, and prevents the heart from receiving the impressions of the unseen. Until the mirror of the heart is cleansed and purified of all impressions, it cannot receive the impressions of the unseen or God-given knowledge, nor the lights of spiritual witnessing and unveiling.

The fifth is constant fasting. The *morīd* must always be fasting, for fasting is of great effect in severing human attachments and palliating animal and bestial attributes: "Fasting is mine, and I give reward for it."[10]

The sixth is constant silence. The *morīd* must not speak to anyone except the shaikh, when bringing a vision to his attention, and he should then use as few words as possible. Otherwise he should say to himself, "he is saved who remains silent,"[11] and move his tongue only in *z̲ekr*.

The seventh is to keep in view the heart of the shaikh. The *morīd* must constantly join his heart to that of the shaikh and seek aid from it, for revelations from the unseen and the breeze of the exhalations of dominical favor first come to the heart of

[7]Qur'an, 3:191.
[8]Qur'an, 2:284.
[9]Stray thoughts (*k̲avāṭer;* sing., *k̲āṭer*): Dāya does not expand on the varieties of stray thought, good and evil, that assail the *morīd,* but we may assume that he followed Najm al-dīn Kobrā in his fivefold division of *k̲avāṭer:* those divinely inspired; those arising from the heart; those inspired by angels; those arising from the soul; and those of satanic origin. See Kobrā, "Risālat as-Sā'ir al-Ḥā'ir al-Wājid ilā 's-Sātir al-Wāḥid al-Mājid," ed. Marijan Molé in *Annales Islamologiques (Cairo),* IV (1963), p. 52.
[10]*Ḥadīs̲ qodsī* previously quoted on p. 185.
[11]Tradition recorded by Termez̲ī, Ebn Ḥanbal and Dāremī.

the *morīd* through the aperture of the shaikh's heart. For the *morīd* is at first encumbered by many veils and, accustomed as he is to the manifest world, cannot direct himself to the Mighty Presence as is required. But if the bond of his morīdship be firm, he can easily direct himself to the Shaikh's heart. The shaikh's heart is turned to the Divine Presence and natured by the world of the unseen: each moment some effusion of dominical grace reaches the shaikh's heart from that world. Insofar as the *morīd*'s heart is turned toward that of the shaikh, succor from the unseen world will be transmitted from the shaikh's heart to that of the *morīd*. The *morīd*'s heart will thus first accustom itself to receiving succor and nourishment from the unseen through the intermediary of the shaikh, until it gradually attains a state where it is able to receive grace without intermediary—"Their Lord shall give them to drink of a pure wine."[12] It is this very wine that they drink at the beginning, but it is handed to them in the goblet of the shaikh's sainthood: "And therein they shall be given to drink of a cup whose mixture is ginger."[13] Then God the cupbearer will hand them the pure wine of witnessing without intermediary in the goblet of the prophethood of Moḥammad, upon whom be peace: "Their Lord shall give them to drink of a pure wine."

I drank of the wine that has the spirit as goblet;
  I became drunk on the wine that maddens the mind.
I was touched by smoke, and a flame leapt forth
  From the candle that has the sun as its moth.

The *morīd* should always consider the aspiration of the shaikh to be his guide and escort on the path. Whenever he is assailed by some misfortune or fear, or some awesome image enters his vision, he should immediately take refuge in the sainthood of the shaikh and inwardly seek help from the shaikh's heart so that the aid rendered by the aspiration of the shaikh and the gaze of his sainthood may repel any misfortune, whether it originate with the soul or with Satan.

The eighth is the abandonment of all objection, whether to

[12]Qur'an, 76:21.
[13]Qur'an, 76:18.

God or the shaikh. Abandonment of objection to God means being content with whatever God sends him from the unseen, whether contraction or expansion,[14] toil or ease, sickness or health, adversity or good fortune; surrendering to God; not turning away from Him; and being steadfast.

When thou pourest into thy heart the wine of Our union,
  Thou must not flee at the onset of giddiness.
If thou desirest constant enjoyment of Our union,
  Then renounce and abandon all other enjoyment.

The *morīd* should make no objection to whatever he observes in the shaikh—his words, deeds, states, and attributes—and surrender himself to the shaikh's outer and inner workings upon him. He should look upon the doings and states of the shaikh with the gaze of morīdship, and not with the short-sighted gaze of reason, for surrender to the sainthood of the shaikh is the supreme condition, as was explained in the allegory of the egg and the hen.[15]

If the egg leaves, however slightly, its state of surrender to the workings of the hen and thus becomes deprived of its succor, the quality of henhood that was inherent in it will immediately perish. It will then be neither egg nor hen. And if an egg rots while beneath one hen, the assembled hens of the whole world will be unable to restore it to salubrity.

It is for this reason that if a *morīd* should be rejected by the sainthood of a certain shaikh, none among the shaikhs will be able to bring him to perfection: he will have been rejected, in effect, by the sainthood of all the shaikhs. However, if the *morīd* has a valid excuse for leaving the service of a shaikh without being rejected by his sainthood—if, for example, it is impossible for him to come to the shaikh and benefit from him because of the shaikh's death or some distant journey on which the *morīd* cannot follow him—then the *morīd* will be excused if he adheres to the service of another shaikh. The workings of the aspiration of that shaikh may cause him to attain the station of henhood,

[14]Contraction and expansion: see p. 238, n. 19 and p. 68, n. 28.
[15]See pp. 247–249.

because the potentiality of henhood has not been corrupted within the egg of his being. There are many customs connected with seclusion, but the conditions are the eight set forth here.

One of the customs of seclusion is to lessen the consumption of food, but not to the extent of becoming weak and without strength. The *morīd* should eat enough to have the strength for pursuing continuous and vigorous *ẕekr*. He should eat, for example, a hundred, a hundred and fifty, or two hundred drachms a day: the amount may be increased or decreased according to the strength of one's constitution and appetite. In general, the *morīd* should be lightly filled at night, so that sleep does not overcome him and cause him to abandon *ẕekr*, because of either deficiency or excess of food. Whatever he eats, the *morīd* should eat while making *ẕekr* and with alertness of the heart. He should take small mouthfuls and not eat lustily, and chew the food into small pieces, in harmony with the *ẕekr* performed in his heart, so that through the light of *ẕekr* the darkness of passion contained in the food may be dispelled. He should stop eating when half full, to avoid all extravagance, and not take any care for his food to be delicious. He should avoid eating too much meat, and it will be fitting if he eats it only once or twice a week, fifty drachms on each occasion.

The *morīd* should also strive to reduce his sleep. As far as possible, he should not lie on his side on the ground through conscious choice, but rather wait to be overcome by sleep, so that he falls unconscious and succumbs to sleep. When he awakes, he should arise, make his ablutions, and busy himself with *ẕekr*. If he is exhausted to the extent that he can no longer remain sitting, it is permissible for him to lie on his side on the ground for an hour, or to place his head on his knees and thus sleep, so that weariness departs from his mind and dullness from his senses.

Whenever he is too tired to pursue *ẕekr* with the tongue, he should busy his heart with *ẕekr* for a time. He should observe his heart closely and watch for anything that may enter its vision. He should not fear any terrible image he sees or any awesome sound he hears, but be stouthearted and forthwith seek

refuge in his shaikh's sainthood. He should utter the name of his shaikh and seek succor from his aspiration, so that God Almighty may avert all evil through His favor.

Whenever the *morīd* emerges from his seclusion to make ablution, or to participate in congregational or Friday prayer, he should fix his gaze straight ahead of him and not look to either side, and keep his tongue and heart busy with *ẕekr,* in order to avoid distraction.

And peace be upon Moḥammad and his family.

Sixteenth Chapter:
Concerning Certain Visions Deriving from the Unseen[1] *and the Difference between Dreams and Visions*

God Almighty said: "I saw eleven planets and the sun and the moon, saw them prostrating themselves unto me."[2]

The Prophet, upon whom be peace and blessings, said: "The sound dream is one of the forty-six parts of prophethood."[3]

Know that when the wayfarer embarks upon ascetic striving, chastening of the soul, and purification of the heart, it is given to him to traverse and journey through the worlds of Kingship and Dominion. At each station visions appropriate to his state are disclosed to him, sometimes in the form of a sound dream, and sometimes as a vision deriving from the unseen.

In the view of the People of the Path, the difference between the dream and the vision has two aspects—form and meaning. With respect to form, the vision is that which is seen either between sleep and waking, or in a state of complete wakefulness. With respect to meaning, the vision is that which emerges from behind the veil of imagination and is derived entirely from the unseen. If it is perceived by the spirit when divested of all human attributes, the vision is purely spiritual. But if, as sometimes happens, the gaze of the spirit is strengthened by the light of

[1]Visions *(vaqāye'* sing., *vāqe'a):* This term, like *taṣarrof,* appears to have originated in the period when the Kobravī order crystallized. It is used by Kobrā himself, although not with the same consistency as by Dāya, for he sometimes employs instead the word *ḡeyba* ("absence") to designate visions, a usage justified by the "absence" of the visionary from his normal modes of perception (Meier's introduction to *Fawā'iḥ al-Jamāl wa Fawātiḥ al-Jamāl,* pp. 110–111). The entirety of this and the following three chapters may be said to constitute an elaboration and systematization of Kobrā's analysis of the visionary experience; a detailed comparison of all the relevant texts is desirable, although not possible here.

[2]Qur'an, 12:4. The first person of this verse refers to Joseph.

[3]Tradition recorded by Boḵārī, Moslem, Abū Dā'ūd, Termeẕī, Ebn Māja, Dāremī, and Ebn Ḥanbal.

divinity, the vision is dominical. Hence it has been said that "the believer sees with God's light."[4]

The dream is that which occurs when the senses have ceased to function, the imagination has begun to operate, and a certain object becomes visible to the one overcome by sleep. There are two kinds of dreams: the first is the confused dream,[5] that which is perceived by the soul, through the instrumentality of the imagination, and is derived from the temptations of Satan and the whisperings of the soul. These are infused in the dreamer by Satan and the soul; the imagination forms a suitable image of them and conveys that image to the gaze of the soul. Such confused and disorderly dreams are not liable to interpretation; one must seek refuge in God from them and not relate them to anyone.

The second kind of dream is the good dream known as "sound," which the Prophet, upon whom be peace, defined as one of the forty-six parts of prophethood. Certain leaders of religion have interpreted his saying as meaning that the duration of his prophethood was twenty-three years, and that during the first six months of that period revelation came to him in the form of dreams. Sound dreams would thus represent one forty-sixth of his prophethood. Many were the prophets to whom revelation came entirely in dreams; and there were some to whom revelation came sometimes in dreams and sometimes in wakefulness. Thus, Abraham, upon whom be peace, said: "Truly I see myself sacrificing thee in my dream; look then, what thinkest thou?"[6] and the Prophet said: "The sleep of the prophets is revelation."[7]

The sound dream is of three kinds. Whatever is seen in the first kind has no need of explanation or interpretation: it comes to pass exactly as seen. Thus the dream of Abraham was quite clear: "Truly I see myself sacrificing thee in my dream."

[4]Part of a Tradition previously quoted on p. 86.
[5]"Confused dream" *(ażġāṣ-e aḥlām):* term taken from Qur'an, 12:44 and 21:5.
[6]Qur'an, 37:102.
[7]Tradition recorded by Boḵārī.

The second kind of sound dream is that in which part needs interpretation and part comes true exactly. Such was the dream of Joseph, upon whom be peace, "I saw eleven planets and the sun and the moon, saw them prostrating themselves unto me."[8] The eleven planets, the moon, and the sun had to be interpreted as his eleven brothers, his mother, and his father; but the prostration came true exactly and did not need to be interpreted—"they fell down prostrate before him."[9]

The third kind of sound dream is that which needs interpretation in its entirety, like the dream of the king ("I see seven fat ears of corn")[10] and the dream of the prisoners ("O companions of the prison, one of you shall serve his lord with wine, and the other shall be crucified and the birds shall eat from his head.")[11]

In truth, the sound dream is not simply that which has a correct interpretation and comes true, for such dreams are common to believer and unbeliever, and the king and the prisoners all saw them. The unbeliever sees a dream with the gaze of the heart, supported by the spirit but not by divine light. It is the dream supported by divine light that is the sound dream and one of the parts of prophethood, and it is seen only by the believer, the saint, or the prophet. For the unbeliever has no part of prophethood, as is stressed in the saying of the Prophet, upon whom be peace, that "nothing has remained of prophethood except dreams conveying good tidings; these are seen by the believer, directly or on his behalf."[12]

This feeble one therefore divides dreams into two types: the sound dream and the veracious dream. The sound dream is that seen by the believer, the saint, or the prophet; it comes true or has a correct interpretation, and it is shown to man by God. The veracious dream is also that which has a correct interpretation and comes true, perhaps exactly. But it is displayed to man by the spirit, and it is common to unbeliever and believer.

[8]Qur'an, 12:4.
[9]Qur'an, 12:100.
[10]Qur'an, 12:43.
[11]Qur'an, 12:41.
[12]Tradition recorded by Termeẕī, Ebn Māja, Dāremī, and Ebn Ḥanbal.

I likewise divide visions into two kinds. The first is that which is doubtless seen by monks, philosophers, and Brahmins, and derives from extreme mortification of the soul, purification of the heart, and training of the spirit, leading to a point at which certain matters relating to the unseen become unveiled. These visions occur halfway between sleep and complete wakefulness. It sometimes happens too that on account of extreme mortification of the soul, spirituality will establish its ascendance and efface most of the animal and bestial attributes. The spirits of this class of men will then be somewhat freed from the veils of imagining and become manifest, and the lights of the spirit will be unveiled to their gaze. But this will not bring them closer to God or earn them His acceptance, nor will it be a cause for their salvation. Rather, it will impel them to excess and extreme in their unbelief and misguidedness, and cause them to become ever more remote from God. Thus He said—mighty, glorious and exalted is He!—"Step by step We shall lead them on from whence they know not. I give them rein, for lo, My cunning is strong."[13]

The second kind of vision is that which occurs when God Almighty displays the beauty of His perspicuous signs to the affirmers of His unity in the mirror of horizons and souls: "We shall show them Our signs on the horizons and in their own souls until it becomes plain to them that it is the Truth."[14] Such visions cause the Truth to become manifest to the affirmers of God's unity. And if, when the senses are mastered, the heart of the wayfarer receives inspiration from his Lord concerning knowledge of the corruption and righteousness of the soul, then the gaze of the heart or the spirit will fall upon the form of that inspiration, as conceived by the imagination. It is also possible that the gaze will fall upon the reality of that inspiration, without the intervention of the imaginative faculty. In either case the wayfarer will be made aware of the salubrity or corruption

[13]Qur'an, 7:181. From the verb *nastadrejohom* ("We shall lead them on") contained in this verse, the term *estedrāj* has been derived, designating "paranormal phenomena occurring at the hands of an unbeliever who advances some claim, in such a manner as to conform with his claim" (Sajjādī, *Farhang-e moṣṭalaḥāt-e 'orafā va motaṣavvefa,* p. 34.

[14]Qur'an, 41:53.

of his soul, and of his degree of progress or deficiency. Thus God said, "By a soul and Him Who ordered it, inspiring it with knowledge of lewdness and godfearing."[15] In the same way that the vision of the associator of gods with God removes him farther from God and increases his unbelief, so too the vision of the affirmer of God's unity bestows wondrous states upon him and increases his faith: "He it is who sent down peace and assurance into the hearts of the believers that they might add faith unto their faith."[16]

The difference between the vision of the associator and that of the affirmer of unity is that the first is caught up in the veils of association and duality, has no part in the witnessing of the lights of the attributes of unity, and does not transcend the human state. The second is delivered from the dark veils of association by the light of unicity, effaces his human state in the manifestation of the lights of the attributes of unity, and through the manifestation of the world of unicity, comes to partake of the station of oneness.[17]

How might we become separate from ourselves,
  Thou and I depart, and God alone remain?
The tongue that uttered the supreme secret
  Spoke truly when it said, "I am the Truth."

Know that the disclosure of visions to the gaze of the wayfarer has three benefits. The first is that through them he is made aware of his own states, whether excess or deficiency; motion, pause or interval; ecstasy, eagerness, or languor; delay or advancement. He is also informed of the stages and stations of the path, of degrees of ascent and descent, of elevation and depression, and of the true and the false. For the imagination invests each of these with a suitable form, so that the wayfarer comprehends all the visions that come to him—those arising from the soul; those animal, satanic, or bestial in origin; and those deriving from the angels, the heart, the spirit, or from God.

[15]Qur'an, 91:10.
[16]Qur'an, 48:4.
[17]Concerning these three terms—unicity, oneness, and unity—see p. 214, nn. 54, 55 and 56.

Thus, if the reprehensible attributes of the soul—greed, envy, concupiscence, miserliness, rancor, arrogance, anger, lust, and so forth—gain mastery over him, the imagination will invest whatever attribute predominates with the form of an animal. The attribute of greed will appear to the wayfarer in the form of a mouse, an ant, or some other greedy animal. If the attribute of concupiscence predominates, it will appear in the form of a pig or a bear. If the attribute of miserliness predominates, it will appear in the form of a dog or a monkey. If the attribute of rancor predominates, it will appear in the form of a snake. If the attribute of arrogance predominates, it will appear in the form of a leopard. If the attribute of anger predominates, it will appear in the form of a panther. If the attribute of lust predominates, it will appear in the form of a donkey. If the attribute of animality predominates, it will appear in the form of a sheep. If the attribute of predatoriness predominates, it will appear in the form of various kinds of predator. If the attribute of deviltry predominates, it will appear in the form of demons, rebellious spirits, and ghouls. And if the attributes of treachery, deceit, and cunning predominate, they will appear in the form of a fox or a rabbit.

If the wayfarer sees these animals prevailing over him, he will know he is dominated by the corresponding attributes. If, on the contrary, he sees the animals subjugated to him, he will know he is transcending the attributes. If he sees that he is killing the animals or subduing them, he will know he is passing beyond the attributes and being delivered from them. If he sees that he is struggling against the animals, he will know he is in contention and dispute with the attributes; he will not become careless or imagine himself to be safe.

If the wayfarer dreams of pure, flowing water, of seas, ponds and pools, of gardens and orchards, of palaces and burnished mirrors, of the moon, the stars and clear skies, all these are the forms taken by the attributes of the heart. If he dreams of unending lights and infinite worlds, flight and ascension, realms devoid of color and quality, swift traversal of the earth and the heavens, walking on air, the unveiling of inner realities and God-given knowledge, and immediate perception, he will know

that all these represent spiritual stations. If he dreams of contemplating the world of Dominion and witnessing the angels, of voices from the unseen, the expanse of the firmaments and the stars, of the souls and inner essences of things, of the Throne and the Footstool, he will know he is traversing the angelic attributes and acquiring praiseworthy attributes. If he finds himself witnessing the lights of the uttermost unseen, the unveiling of the attributes of divinity, inspiration and revelation, and indications and manifestations of the dominical attributes, he will know he is in the station of clothing himself in the divine characteristics. This is a brief indication of each type; the rest may be deduced by analogy.

The second benefit of visions is that, deriving from the heart, the spirit, and the angelic realm, they yield a certain taste. The soul gains from them such libation and nourishment, such joyous taste and ardor, that it annuls its intimacy with creation, with all to which instinctual nature is accustomed, and with sensory delights and corporeal pleasures, and instead forms acquaintance with the unseen and the spiritual world, with subtle essences and inner meanings, with mysteries and realities. It turns fully to the world of seeking, and its wonted drinking place becomes the world of the unseen—"and all the people knew their drinking place."[18]

In truth, the infants of the Path can be nurtured at the beginning only on the milk of visions from the unseen; it is only the form and meaning of these visions that can be nurtured for the soul of the seeker. One filled with astonishment once related the following in the presence of Ǩ̲āja Abū Yūsof Hamadānī: "I was once in the presence of Shaikh Aḥmad Ḡazālī, may God have mercy on him. While seated eating with his companions in the hospice, he lost awareness of self. When he came to himself he said, 'I have just seen the Prophet, upon whom be peace; he came and put a morsel of food in my mouth.'" Ǩ̲āja Abū Yūsof

[18]Qur'an, 2:60.

remarked: "These are imaginings on which the infants of the Path are nurtured."[19]

The third benefit is that it is only by virtue of visions deriving from the unseen that certain stations of the Path may be transcended. The chief reason for the need of prophets and shaikhs is as follows. So long as the wayfarer is voyaging in his own being and journeying through the attributes of the soul, the heart, and the spirit, it is possible that he should not need anyone. But when he reaches the farthest limit of spirituality he cannot cross it by himself, for any effort that issues from the wayfarer creates more being, whereas henceforth his course is directed to nonbeing, and nonbeing can be attained only through the medium of others. It is visions proceeding from the effusion of the shaikh's sainthood, from the presence of prophethood or from the manifestation of the dominical attributes, that bestow effacement on the wayfarer. And until he has attained true effacement, he cannot reach true abiding, which is the goal and purpose of his wayfaring. And God knows best.

After this, an indication of those visions that pertain to unveiling, witnessing, manifestation, and attainment will be given, each in a separate chapter, God the Unique willing.

Peace be upon Moḥammad and his family.

[19] Ḵ̄āja Abū Yūsof Hamadānī (d. 535/1140): a major figure in the history of Central Asian Sufism, he stood at the beginning of a line of "Masters" *(Ḵ̄ājagān)* from which emerged the Yasavī and Naqšbandī orders. The anecdote related here is typical of the sober and disdainful attitude to wonders and visions that he transmitted to his spiritual progeny. See Hamid Algar, "Abū Ya'qūb Yūsof b. Ayyūb Hamadānī," *Encyclopaedia Iranica,* Vol. I (forthcoming).

Shaikh Aḥmad Ḡazālī (d. 520/1126): brother of the more celebrated Abū Ḥāmed Ḡazālī, he was the author of one of the earliest treatises on mystical love in Persian, *Savāneḥ al-'oššāq,* and the shaikh of a number of influential *morīds* (see Jāmī, *Nafaḥāt al-ons,* p. 374).

Seventeenth Chapter:
Concerning the Witnessing[1] of Lights and the Degrees Thereof

God Almighty said: "The heart lied not in seeing that which it saw; will ye then dispute with him that which he saw, for indeed he saw him at a second descent?"[2]

The Prophet, upon whom be peace and blessings, said: "Beneficence *(eḥsān)* is your worshipping God as if you saw Him."[3]

Know that when the mirror of the heart is gradually burnished by the workings of *lā elāha ellā'llāh,* and the rust of instinctual nature and the darkness of human attributes are erased from it —"everything may be polished, and the heart is polished by the remembrance of God"[4]—it will become receptive to the lights of the unseen world, and the wayfarer, in accordance with the purity of his heart and the degree of manifestation of lights, will behold lights. Initially the lights will be mostly in the form of lightning, of gleams and flashes.

O lightning flash leaping forth!
  From which guarded shrine comes thy light?

As the polishing of the heart increases, the lights will strengthen and multiply. After being first like a lightning flash, they will later be witnessed in the likeness of a lamp, a candle, a torch, or a burning fire. After this, the supernal lights will become manifest, first in the shape of stars, large and small. Then they will be witnessed in the likeness of the moon; and later they will become apparent in the shape of the sun. Finally, lights free of any locus will appear.

[1]Witnessing *(mošāhadāt):* the word is derived from the same root as *šohūd* (for a definition of which see p. 140, n. 24), and has the sense of an instance of *šohūd,* a "witnessing" of a particular object by a particular subject. On the difference between witnessing and unveiling, see pp. 321–322.
[2]Qur'an, 53:13.
[3]Part of a Tradition previously quoted on p. 126.
[4]Tradition; source unknown.

Know that the sources of light are various: the spirituality of the wayfarer; the sainthood of the shaikh; the prophethood of Moḥammad, upon whom be peace; the spirits of the prophets, the saints, and the shaikhs; the Mighty Presence; the *ẕekr* of *lā elāha ellā'llāh;* other forms of *ẕekr;* the Qur'an; Islam, and faith; and the different forms of worship and obedience. Each has a separate light; from each source a certain light arises conforming to its nature; and each light has a certain taste and color.

When the lights emerge fully from the veil, the imagination no longer has any power over them. The colors disappear, and the lights are witnessed without any color, image, locus, shape, form, or quality: absolute light is that which is pure and free of all these. Whatever form or color is perceived by the imagination derives from the pollution of vision by the veils of the human attributes. When the lights are seen by pure spirituality, none of these attributes remains, and a colorless and formless radiance becomes visible.

It is impossible in this brief account to describe in detail the sources from which each of the different kinds of light is derived. But know by way of summary that whatever appears in the form of lightning and flashes is generally derived from the source of *ẕekr,* ablution, and prayer, and sometimes from the ascendancy of the lights of the spirit. The veils of the human attributes are rent apart like clouds, and a ray of spirituality is witnessed in the form of lightning. Once a *morīd* of Shaikh Abū Sa'īd—may God's mercy be upon him—made his ablutions and entered his place of seclusion. He emitted a cry and ran out, saying "I have seen God!" The shaikh knew the nature of his state and said, "O immature one! That was the light of your ablution. What vast distance still separates you from the Divine Presence!"

As for the light seen in the form of a lamp, a candle, or something similar, it is a light borrowed from the sainthood of the shaikh or the prophethood of Moḥammad, upon whom be peace —"and a light-giving lamp."[5] It may also derive from the benefits of learning, or the light of the Qur'an and the light of faith. The lamp or the candle is in reality the heart illumined with the

[5]Qur'an, 33:46.

amount of light suggested by those objects and deriving from the sources we have mentioned. If the light is seen in the form of an oil lamp or a niche, it is the same comparison that God Almighty made in the description of the heart: "The likeness of His light is as a niche, in which there is a lamp."[6]

As for those lights that are seen in the form of heavenly bodies—stars, moons, and suns—they derive from the lights of spirituality that appear in the sky of the heart, in accordance with its degree of purity. When the mirror of the heart becomes as pure as a star, the light of the spirit becomes apparent to the amount of a star. Sometimes the star will be seen in the sky, and at other times it will be seen without the sky. When it is seen in the sky, the sky represents the fleshly form of the heart. The star represents the light of the spirit, being small or great, little or much, according to the degree of purity of the heart. When the star is seen without the sky, it is a reflection of the light of the heart, the light of the intellect, or the light of faith, appearing in the pure air of the breast. It sometimes happens that the soul attains such purity that it appears to be like the sky, and the heart is seen in it like the moon. If the full moon is seen, the heart has become completely pure; if it is less than full, a degree of impurity remains in the heart. When the mirror of the heart attains perfect purity and begins receiving the light of the spirit, that light will be witnessed in the likeness of the sun. The brightness of the sun is in proportion to the degree of the heart's purity, until a point is reached at which the heart is a thousand times brighter than the external sun. If the moon and the sun are witnessed together, then the moon is the heart, illumined with the reflection of the light of the spirit, and the sun is the spirit, witnessed but still rising from behind a veil, so that the imagination has conceived the sun as a suitable image for it. For otherwise the light of the spirit has neither shape, color, nor form.

It sometimes happens that the sun, the moon, and the stars are witnessed in pools, seas, wells, streams, mirrors, and similar objects. All these are the lights of spirituality, and each repre-

[6]Qur'an, 24:35.

sents a different locus of the heart, clothed in this image by the imagination.

It may also happen that a ray from the lights of the attributes of God, mighty and exalted, goes forth to welcome the wayfarer in accordance with His saying: "Whosoever approaches Me by a span, him I approach by a cubit."[7] From behind the veils of the spirit and the heart, this ray casts its reflection on the mirror of the heart in proportion to its degree of purity, as happened with Abraham, upon whom be peace, at the beginning of his prophethood: "When night enveloped him, he saw a star."[8] When the mirror of his heart had attained a purity equal to that of a star, light was witnessed to the amount of a star. When his heart had been completely delivered from the rust of instinctual nature, light was witnessed in the form of a moon—"when he saw the moon rising."[9] When his heart became utterly pure, light was witnessed in the form of a sun—"when he saw the sun rising."[10] That which was witnessed by the gaze of Abraham's soul—peace be upon him!—was in reality a ray from the lights of the dominical attributes, witnessed in the mirror of the heart, but from behind the veils of the spirit and the heart, in the station of mutability. It was of necessity subject to decline, and Abraham said: "I love not that which declineth."[11]

The ray was perceived from behind veils in the sense that it showed itself in different forms, while the Divine Presence is exalted above all form. It was in the station of mutability because it was subject to decline, and God is exalted above all decline. And it was a ray from the light of God's attributes that Abraham, upon whom be peace, witnessed, because the heart experienced the taste of witnessing God's making Himself known and judged it to be true. The heart is a true judge, and the blight of lying cannot touch it concerning what it sees, for "the heart lied not in seeing that which it saw."[12] The heart, insofar as it is heart, cannot behold a lie. Moreover, the judg-

[7]*Ḥadīs̱ qodsī* previously quoted on p. 222.
[8]Qur'an, 6:76.
[9]Qur'an, 6:77.
[10]Qur'an, 6:78.
[11]Qur'an, 6:76.
[12]Qur'an, 53:13.

ment of "this is my Lord"[13] springs from the ray that the heart witnesses.

The light that is derived from God's lights and witnessed by the heart serves to make God known to the heart: He makes Himself known by means of Himself. A taste derived from God's presence arises in the heart, by virtue of which the heart knows that what it sees is from God, not from other than God. This is something which must be experienced and cannot easily be explained.

This taste is experienced in different ways. If God's making Himself known enters man by way of his hearing, it will be as it was with Moses, upon whom be peace: "Verily I, I am God."[14] When the voice comes from behind veils, it is perceived by intermediary—"from the tree saying, 'O Moses! Verily I, I am God.'"[15] When the veils are removed, the voice is heart without intermediary: "and God spoke directly unto Moses."[16]

If God's making himself known comes by way of sight and the veils are still in place, then it comes by intermediary, as was the case with Abraham, upon whom be peace: "And when he saw the sun rising, he said, 'this is my Lord.'"[17] Only when the soul truly experiences the taste making known to it that "I am thy Lord"[18] will the interpreter of the tongue say, "This is my Lord."[19] When the veils are completely removed, God's making Himself known will come without intermediary, as was the case with the Prophet, upon whom be peace: "The heart lied not in seeing that which it saw; will ye then dispute with him that which he saw)"[20] 'Omar—may God be pleased with him!—experienced some part of this matter when he said: "My heart saw my Lord." And the Prophet alluded to the attainment of this joy when he said in description of beneficence *(eḥsān)* that it is "your worshipping God as if you saw Him."[21]

[13]Qur'an, 6:76, 77, 78.
[14]Qur'an, 28:30.
[15]Qur'an, 30:28.
[16]Qur'an, 4:163.
[17]Qur'an, 6:78.
[18]Qur'an, 20:12.
[19]Qur'an, 6:76, 77, 78.
[20]Qur'an, 53:13.
[21]Tradition previously quoted on p. 126.

If it be asked whether Abraham, upon whom be peace, saw the sun, the moon, and the stars in the inner or the outer world, we answer that it makes no difference. When the mirror of the heart is pure, it sometimes happens that these witnessings are beheld in the world of the unseen, proceeding from the world of the heart by means of the imagination; and sometimes that they are seen in the manifest world, proceeding from the outer world by means of the senses. They are seen in some suitable form that can serve as locus for the manifestation of the divine lights: Thus the sun, the moon, and the stars receive the reflection of the ray of God's lights—"God is the light of the heavens and the earth."[22] In truth, it is the heart that perceives the light and the Mighty Presence that displays it. When God's making Himself known bestows the taste of "this is my Lord,"[23] the unseen and the manifest, the outer and the inner, are as one.

It sometimes happens that the purity of the heart attains perfection, the veils become transparent, and the meaning of the verse "We shall show them Our signs upon the horizons and in their own souls"[24] is made apparent. If man then looks into himself, he sees only God; and, indeed, if he looks into all beings, wherever he looks he sees only God. Thus that great one said: "I looked upon nothing without seeing God in it."[25] When the veils are completely removed and the station of immediate witnessing is attained, then it will be said: "I looked upon nothing without seeing God before it." If one is submerged in the boundless ocean of witnessing, then one's existence as a witness of God will be dissolved and only God's existence as witness to Himself will remain. Thus Joneyd—may God sanctify his spirit!—used to say, "There is naught in existence but God."[26] At this station, only the gaze of the witness can perceive the beauty of the witness, in the mirror of man. This feeble one says:

> In my lifelong search for thee, my head has been my foot,
> And with my eyes I have swept up the dust of thy foot.
> Thus I am now the mirror to thy face,
> And with thine own eye I gaze on thy face.

[22]Qur'an, 24:35.
[23]Qur'an, 6:76, 77, 78.
[24]Qur'an, 41:53.
[25]Saying of Moḥammad b. Vāse' previously quoted on p. 139.
[26]Concerning Joneyd, see p. 35, n. 9.

As for the colors of the lights, they vary according to the station in which the lights are witnessed. Thus, in the station of the reproachful soul a blue light is seen, arising from the mingling of the light of the spirit, or the light of *zekr*, with the darkness of the soul. When the darkness of the soul decreases and the light of the spirit increases, a red light is witnessed. When the light of the spirit begins to prevail, a yellow light appears. When no darkness remains in the soul, a white light appears. When the light of the spirit begins to mingle with the purity of the heart, a green light appears. When the heart is completely purified, a light appears like the light of the sun and its rays. When the mirror of the heart is polished to perfection, a light becomes visible like the light of the sun appearing in a pure mirror. Vision cannot endure this light on account of the strength of its rays.

When the light of God casts its reflection on the light of the spirit, man's witnessing of God becomes mingled with the taste of God's witnessing of Himself. And when the light of God is witnessed without any of the veils of the spirit or heart, it manifests its freedom from color, quality, limitation, similitude, and opposition; and it both enjoys and bestows the stability of its own nature. At this point neither sunrise nor sunset remain, neither left nor right, neither above nor below, neither time nor place, neither proximity nor distance, neither night nor day: "With God there is neither morning nor evening."[27] There is neither the heavenly throne, nor the earth spread out beneath it, neither this world nor the hereafter.[28]

A light appears and, appearing, is stable;
  A sun rises, and he who sees it believes.
Men are content with the darkness of gloom—
  Much I have spoken and much I still speak—but to whom?

At first, in the station of God's witnessing Himself, the lights

[27]Arabic utterance of unknown provenance.

[28]This passage is reminiscent of the supplication made by the Prophet after dawn prayer, in the course of which he said: "O God! Make light on my right, light on my left, light above me, light beneath me, light before me, light behind me" (recorded by Boḵārī and Moslem). Although there is a specification of direction in the supplication, direction in effect becomes dissolved and abolished through the ubiquitousness of light.

of the attributes of beauty, deriving from the world of God's favor, manifest all these effects, leading to effacement in the manner described.

As for the lights of the attributes of splendor, deriving from the world of God's wrath, they bring about the effacement of effacement, and the effacement of the effacement of effacement. Speech falls short of this and is unable to explain it. First a burning light appears that manifests the property of "Thou causest naught to abide, and leavest naught,"[29] and in truth the seven hells are derived from the ray of that light. The lights of the attributes of beauty illumine and do not burn, whereas the lights of the attributes of splendor burn and do not illumine. Not every understanding and intelligence can perceive these matters. For sometimes it happens that the light of the attributes of splendor is totally dark; and how can the intelligence comprehend a dark light, when it considers the union of opposites impossible?

The Prophet, upon whom be peace, said that hellfire was kindled for several thousand years until it became red; was kindled for several thousand years more until it became white; and was again kindled for several thousand years until it became black, which is the color it now possesses. If you can understand the indication contained in this saying, know that dark light belongs to the same order as black fire; for how can mere intelligence understand black fire?

Given the true meaning of oneness and unicity, wherever you see light and darkness in the two worlds, they are derived from the ray of the light of the attributes of favor and wrath, respectively, for "God is the light of the heavens and the earth."[30] It is for this reason that God established light and darkness with the word "made," not with the word "created," saying: "He created the heavens and the earth and made the darkness and the light."[31] The nature of what is created is different from the nature

[29]Qur'an, 74:28.
[30]Qur'an, 24:35.
[31]Qur'an, 6:1.

of what is made. The many truths contained in this indication are not accessible to every understanding.[32]

As for the attributes of splendor, when they manifest, in the station of the effacement of effacement, the imperiousness of the awe of divinity and the severity of the majesty of eternity, a black light is witnessed that dispenses man from all need of other than God, causes him to abide in God, and gives life and death. For with the appearance of this light the supreme talisman is broken and all vague images are dispersed. Shaikh Aḥmad Ḡazālī, upon whom be God's mercy, says in this connection:

> We saw the world's origin and its inner aspect,
> And passed with ease beyond all sickness and disgrace.
> Know that black light to be higher than the point of "no";
> Beyond that too we passed; neither this nor that remained.[33]

The Prophet, upon whom be peace, when he prayed in supplication, saying, "Show us things as they truly are,"[34] was seek-

[32]Part of what Dāya intends here is that the verb *ja'ala* ("He made") may also have the secondary sense of "He appointed" (cf. Qur'an, 2:30: When the Lord said unto the angels, "Verily I shall make/appoint *[jā'elon]* a viceregent upon earth"). Light, therefore, may be seen in the context of Qur'an 6:1 as having been "appointed" and not "created" like the heavens and the earth (i.e., endowed with separate form), for God is Himself the light that He has "appointed" to illumine His creation. As for darkness, it is merely the antonym of light and has neither form nor substance to be created.

[33]Dāya's attribution to Shaikh Aḥmad Ḡazālī of this quatrain of obscure meaning is incorrect. 'Eyn al-Qożāt Hamadānī, the foremost pupil of Ḡazālī, quotes the quatrain twice in his *Tamhīdāt* and on both occasions attributes it to Abu'l-Ḥasan Bostī, a contemporary of his master *(Tamhīdāt,* in *Aḥvāl va āṣār,* pp. 119, 248). Jāmī likewise ascribes it to Bostī, describing it as "well-known and difficult" *(Nafaḥāt,* p. 413). Hamadānī suggests first that the "black light" is the light that lies beyond the divine throne, the light of Eblīs, conventionally called "darkness" only because of its sharp contrast to God's light *(Tamhīdāt,* pp. 118–119). Later he proposes an alternative interpretation of "black light" as the "shadow of Moḥammad": "You know that Moḥammad is the shadow of God, but did you ever perceive the shadow of the sun that is Moḥammad? Did you never see the black light beyond the point of 'no' *(lā)*? Then you would know what is the shadow of Moḥammad" *(Tamhīdāt,* p. 248). Corbin suggests that Dāya associates black light with "passionate, ecstatic love" *(L'Homme de lumière dans le soufisme iranien,* p. 161).

[34]Tradition; see Forūzānfar, *Aḥādīṣ-e Maṣnavī,* p. 45.

ing the manifestation of the lights of the attributes of favor and wrath. For all that has existence in the two worlds has it either from the ray of the lights of the attributes of His favor, or from the ray of the lights of the attributes of His wrath. Apart from this, nothing has real existence, or subsists through its own essence. For real existence belongs only to God, Who ceases not nor has ceased. Thus He said: "He is the first and the last, the outward and the inward."[35]

The heart is the kernel of reality, see the body as its husk;
See the beloved's form clothed in the spirit's garb.
All things that bear the sign of existence
Are either the shadow of His light, or are He.[36]

Blessings be upon Moḥammad and his family.

[35]Qur'an, 57:3.
[36]A quatrain of Afżal al-Dīn Kāšānī *(Moṣannafāt,* II, p. 737).

Eighteenth Chapter:
Concerning Unveiling and Its Varieties

God Almighty said: "We have removed from thee thy covering, and this day thy sight is sharp."[1]

The Prophet, upon whom be peace and blessings, said: "Light is his veil; were he to remove it, the glory of His face would burn all whose sight attained unto it."[2]

Know that the true sense of unveiling is the emergence of something from the veil in such manner that the one to whom it is unveiled perceives it, whereas he had not perceived it before.[3] Thus God said: "We have removed from thee thy covering." That is, "We have removed the veil from in front of your gaze so that what you did not see previously is now uncovered to your gaze."

The veil consists of those obstacles that prevent the sight of the bondsman from attaining the beauty of the Glorious Presence. These obstacles are constituted by all the different realms of this world and the hereafter, which according to one tradition number eighteen thousand, according to another seventy thousand, and according to yet another three hundred and sixty thousand. Seventy thousand is the most suitable, since it conforms to an authentic Tradition: "God has seventy thousand veils of light and darkness."[4] These seventy thousand realms exist in man's own nature; he has an eye corresponding to each realm by means of which he beholds it, insofar as it is unveiled to him.

The seventy thousand realms are all included in two encompassing realms, which may be termed light and darkness, Kingship and Dominion, the unseen and the manifest, the corporeal and the spiritual, or this world and the hereafter. All these pairs are the same; only the words differ.

[1]Qur'an, 50:22.
[2]Tradition recorded by Moslem, Ebn Māja, and Ebn Ḥanbal.
[3]Cf. this definition of Jorjānī: "gaining awareness of matters concerning the unseen and the verities of things that are customarily behind the veil" *(Ta'rīfāt,* p. 193).
[4]Tradition already quoted on p. 124.

Man consists of a union of these realms, God in His eternal power having brought opposites together. The seventy thousand eyes with which man perceives the seventy thousand realms have been subsumed in the means given him for perceiving the two realms he comprises. These are the five senses which pertain to the corporeality of man, and by means of which he perceives all the realms of corporeality; and the five inner means of perception, which pertain to the spirituality of man and by means of which he perceives all the realms of spirituality. The inner means of perception are called the intelligence, the heart, the mystery, the spirit, and the arcane.[5]

Now in the terminology of the people of wayfaring, the word "unveiling" is applied to matters perceived by the five inner means of perception, not what is perceived by the five outer senses or those human faculties that depend on the senses.

When, therefore, the sincere wayfarer, drawn by morīdship, strives upward from the lowest of the low that is his instinctual nature to the highest of the high that is the Law, and when he begins to tread the highway of the Path with the foot of sincerity in accordance with the code of ascetic striving and mortification, escorted by the principle of subordination, an eye appropriate to that station will be opened for him as he passes through each of the seventy thousand veils, and the states belonging to that station will become visible to his gaze.

First the eye of his intelligence will be opened, and intelligibilia will begin to show themselves to him in proportion to the degree of unveiling and the purity of his intelligence; the secrets of intelligibilia will be uncovered to him. This is called "meditative unveiling,"[6] and is not worthy of great reliance, for what is perceived with the intelligence is not fit to be relied on unless it is also practically attained: "O heart, not everything that thou seest is given to thee." Most sages and philosophers have not progressed beyond this station; they have devoted their energy

[5]Concerning these five inner means of perception, see p. 134, n. 9.
[6]"Meditative" *(naẓarī):* "that the acquisition of which depends on the exercise of the gaze of the intelligence—as, for example, the perception that the world is created" (Jorjānī, *Ta'rīfāt,* p. 261).

to the purification of the intelligence and the perception of intelligibilia. They have imagined this to constitute attainment of the true goal, and remained bereft of the benefits to be had from the other means of perception. They have come forth in open denial and become lost in the wilderness of misguidedness, causing others too to go astray—"They went astray before and caused many to stray."[7]

After the wayfarer passes beyond the unveiling of intelligibilia, there will appear the unveilings of the heart, these being known as the "unveiling of witnessing." Different lights are unveiled, as was explained in part in the chapter on witnessing.[8]

Then follow the unveilings of the mystery, known as the "unveiling of inspiration." The secrets of creation and the mystery of being of all things become unveiled and apparent. This feeble one says:

> O thou whose grief snatched reason from my heart,
> Whose pain put up for sale the dwelling of my heart!
> That mystery denied all the angels sanctified,
> Thy love softly whispered in the ear of my heart.

Then come the unveilings of the spirit, known as "spiritual unveiling." At the beginning of this station there are unveiled paths of ascent, the expanse of Paradise and Hell, and the sight of the angels and their discourses. When the spirit becomes entirely pure and is cleansed of all corporeal contamination, infinite worlds are unveiled, and the circle of pre- and post-eternity becomes visible to the eye. Now the veil of time and place is removed, so that what happened in the past can be perceived in this state. Thus there are those to whose gaze the beginning of the creation of beings and its different stages are unveiled, and who also perceive what is to be in the future. Thus Ḥāreṣa said: "It is as if I look upon the people of the garden visiting each other and the people of the fire following each other in torment."[9] And the Prophet, upon whom be peace, said: "The

[7]Qur'an, 5:80.
[8]Seventeenth Chapter.
[9]Ḥāreṣa is the name of several Companions of the Prophet; I have not been able to ascertain which one is intended here.

garden was shown to me, and I saw most of its people to be the indigent, and the fire was shown to me, and I saw most of its people to be women."[10] When the veil of worldly time and place was lifted, the time and place of the hereafter was unveiled.

It is also in this station that the veil of directions is removed from in front of the gaze: one sees behind him just as one sees in front of him. The Prophet, upon whom be peace, said: "O people, I am your imam. Do not precede me in bowing, in prostration, or in raising the head, for I see you whether in front of me or behind me."[11]

Most of the abnormal phenomena known as *karāmāt*[12]—"wondrous deeds"—happen in this station: awareness of the stray thoughts of others; knowledge of the unseen; walking on water, or through fire or air; swift traversal of the earth; and the like. This kind of wondrous deed has little significance, for it is common both to people of religion and to others. Thus the Prophet, upon whom be peace, asked Ebn Ṣā'ed, "What do you see?" He said, "I see a throne upon the waters." And the Prophet answered, "That is the throne of Eblīs."[13] This type of abnormal phenomenon will also be manifested by the Dajjāl; it is even recorded in a Tradition that he will kill men and then restore them to life.[14]

As for what may truly be called wondrous deeds and belongs only to the people of religion, it is that which appears after

[10]Tradition; source unknown.

[11]Tradition recorded by Moslem, Nasā'ī, and Ebn Ḥanbal.

[12]See p. 229, n. 39.

[13]Tradition reported by Ebn Ḥanbal, Moslem, and Termeẕī. Ebn Ṣā'ed (or Ebn Sayyād) was a Jew of Medina who claimed prophethood and exhibited some of the features of the Dajjāl (Antichrist) as specified in Tradition.

[14]Cf. the long Tradition recorded by Moslem concerning the signs and deeds of the Dajjāl, from which the following is taken: "He will call a person brimming with youth, strike him with the sword and cut him in two, causing the two pieces to be as distant from each other as an archer from his target. He will then call the young man, who will come forward with his face gleaming with joy. It is at this very time that God will send Jesus son of Mary. . . ." These powers of the Dajjāl are an instance of *estedrāj*, a "parody" or inversion of the miracles performed by a prophet (see René Guénon, *The Reign of Quantity* [London, 1953], pp. 321–329), the word *dajjāl* having the fundamental sense of impostor.

spiritual unveiling—the unveiling of the arcane. For the spirit is common to both Muslim and unbeliever, while the arcane is a special spirit of God, given only to His elect. Thus God said: "He inscribed faith in their hearts and strengthened them with a spirit from Him."[15] And elsewhere He said: "He casts the spirit, from His command, on whomsoever He wills among His bondsmen."[16] Concerning the Prophet, upon whom be peace, He said: "And thus We infused in thee a spirit, from Our command. Thou knewest not what was the Book, nor faith. But we appointed for him a light with which to guide those We will among Our bondsmen."[17] That is, "We bestow a luminous spirit, deriving from Our presence, upon some of Our bondsmen and not others, so that by means of it they may gain access to the world of divine attributes." Only Rakš can serve as mount to Rostam.[18]

The heart is the link between the corporeal and the spiritual worlds, with one aspect turned toward the world of Dominion and the other turned toward the body. Through the first aspect it receives the effusion of the light of the intelligence, and through the second it conveys the traces of the lights of the world of Dominion and of intelligibilia to the soul and the body. The mystery is likewise the link between the two worlds of the heart and spirit. With the aspect turned toward the spirit, it partakes of the effusion of the spirit, and with the aspect turned toward the heart, it conveys the truths of the effusion of the spirit to the heart. Similarly, the arcane is the link between the world of divine attributes and the world of spirituality. Turned to the first, it receives the unveilings of the attributes of the Divine Presence; turned to the second, it conveys to the world of spirituality the reflection of those characteristics, ennobling it with "acquire God's characteristics as your own."[19] This is known as "the unveiling of the attributes."

[15]Qur'an, 58:22.
[16]Qur'an, 40:15.
[17]Qur'an, 42:52.
[18]Rostam, the epic hero of pre-Islamic Iran, always rode Rakš, a steed of equally heroic nature. See Ferdowsī, *Šāhnāma*, I, pp. 284ff. The sentence "only Rakš can serve as mount to Rostam," appears to be a proverb, meaning in this context that only the arcane, the "special spirit of God," can convey the virile hero, struggling on God's path, to the world of divine attributes.
[19]Tradition recorded by Abū No'eym.

In this state, if the attribute of knowing is unveiled to the wayfarer, God-given knowledge appears. If the attribute of all-hearing is unveiled to him, the hearing of divine speech and address will result. If the attribute of all-seeing is unveiled to him, vision and witnessing will result. If the attribute of beauty is unveiled to him, the taste of witnessing the beauty of the Divine Presence will be experienced. If the attribute of splendor is unveiled to him, true effacement will result. If the attribute of self-subsisting is unveiled to him, true abiding will result. If the attribute of unicity is unveiled to him, oneness will result.[20] The effect of the other attributes may be deduced from this.

As for the unveiling of the essence, this is an extremely lofty degree that neither direct statement nor hint can describe. This feeble one makes some allusion to it in these lines:

> Our dwelling stands at the head of thy love's street;
> All the secret of both worlds is unveiled to our heart.
> Thy foot is placed on our favored heart;
> The desire of all creatures is our attainment.

A complete indication will be given in the chapter on manifestation, God willing. And God's blessings be upon Moḥammad.

[20]Concerning these two terms, see p. 214, n. 55 and n. 56.

Nineteenth Chapter:
Concerning the Manifestation of the Divine Essence and Attributes

God Almighty said: "And when his Lord manifested Himself to the mountain, He caused it to be flattened, and Moses fell in a swoon."[1]

The Prophet, upon whom be peace and blessings, said: "God created Adam and manifested Himself in him";[2] and also: "When God manifests Himself to a thing, it humbles itself before Him."[3]

Know that manifestation consists of the appearance of the essence and attributes of God, Glorious and Exalted, in the manner now to be set forth, God Almighty willing.[4]

The spirit also has its manifestation, and on account of this wayfarers often fall into error. It sometimes happens that the attributes or the essence of the spirit manifest themselves and appear to the wayfarer to have the taste of the manifestation of God. Many are the wayfarers who are deceived at this station and imagine that they have received a manifestation of God. If there is not an accomplished and efficacious shaikh at hand, it is difficult to escape this pitfall.

The shaikhs of the past—may God sanctify their spirits!—have made little effort to unveil these truths, and instead concealed them from the gaze of strangers as far as possible. But many foolish claimants have now appeared among the people of the Path. Deceived by the guile of Satan and the cunning of their souls, they have imagined, on the strength of a few rotten words snatched from someone's mouth, that they have attained the goal and purpose of this path in its perfection and that they have tasted the libation given to true men. Thinking themselves free

[1]Qur'an, 7:143.
[2]Tradition previously quoted on p. 144.
[3]Tradition recorded by Nasā'ī and Ebn Māja.
[4]Cf. the definition of Jorjānī: "lights of the unseen that are unveiled to hearts" (*Ta'rīfāt*, p. 53).

to act as they wish in the whole realm, they have fallen to libertinism and heresy.

> Some raw and empty ones have donned the patched cloak,
> Snatched up some words of Sufi speech,
> And dispensing with some steps in pure sincerity,
> Brought ill repute to some men of good name.[5]

This feeble one therefore resolved to set forth some part of the stations and states of spiritual wayfaring to serve as a touchstone for these claimants. Let them strike themselves against this touchstone: if they find in themselves nothing of the states described, let them leave the sack of Satan's deceit and the ambush of the soul's guile, and set their faces to the straight path which is the highway of subordination.

If there remains within them some trace of the painful longing of the quest, let them lay hold of the skirt of some auspicious one, so that holding fast to the stirrup of his auspiciousness they may reach their goal and purpose. Thus God, Glorious and Almighty, says: "Enter houses by their doors."[6] On this subject this feeble one says:

> If you pollute your wings with carrion like the crow,
> How can you be worthy of the king like the falcon?
> If you are but food for the hawk like the sparrow,
> How can you perch on the king's arm like the hawk?

Our account will serve also as a guide to the correct path for discerning seekers and sincere *morīds*, and as an encouragement for them to attain the point of return. Let us now begin, with dominical support and divine assistance, to describe manifestation and the difference between dominical manifestation and spiritual manifestation.

Know that when the mirror of the heart is polished and

[5]A quatrain of Sanā'ī (*Dīvān*, p. 830). "Words of Sufi speech" (*ṭāmāt*): incomprehensible words uttered by a beginner on the Path or by one in a state of ecstasy (Sajjādī, *Farhang-e moṣṭalāḥat-e 'orafā va motaṣavvefa*, p. 258).

[6]Qur'an, 2:189.

cleansed of the impurity of the being of other than God and attains utmost purity, it is illumined by the sun of God's beauty, and becomes a goblet in which is displayed the essence of sublime attribute. But not everyone to whom is granted the good fortune of polishing and purity is vouchsafed also the felicity of manifestation: "That is God's grace; He bestows it upon whomsoever He wills."[7] It is, however, pure hearts that are enabled to attain this felicity. Thus Shaikh 'Abdollāh Anṣārī, upon whom be mercy, said: "God's manifestation comes unawares, but it comes to a heart that is aware."[8] I also heard Shaikh 'Alī Būnānī—may God sanctify his cherished spirit!—relate of his shaikh, K̲ạ̄ja Abū Bakr Šānīān Qazvīnī, upon whom be God's mercy, that he said: "Not everyone that runs after the onager will capture it, but he who captures it will have run after it."[9]

It may happen that in the beginning, when the mirror of the heart is purified of the attributes of humanity and the rust of instinctual nature, certain spiritual attributes will manifest themselves to the heart, through the dominance of the lights of spirituality. It may also happen that the light of *ẕekr* and the light of worship will gain dominance over the lights of the spirit, causing the sea of spirituality to become turbulent, so that a battalion of waves attacks the shore of the heart and a manifestation appears in its pure mirror.

It sometimes occurs that the light of remembrance of the rememberer is joined to the light of remembrance of the Remembered.[10] One then imagines oneself to have experienced the manifestation of the Remembered, but this is not the case. It sometimes happens too that the spirit manifests itself with all its attributes, this resulting from the total effacement of all traces of the human attributes. It may also happen that the essence of

[7]Qur'an, 5:59, 57:21, 62:4.

[8]Quoted from Anṣārī's "Maḥabbatnāma" *(Rasā'el,* p. 133).

[9]Shaikh 'Alī Būnānī (d. 601/1205): a figure concerning whom little is known except his assination in Damascus at the hands of Ismā'īlīs. See Zakarīyā Qazvīnī, *Āthār al-Bilād,* ed. F. Wüstenfeld (Göttingen, 1848), p. 194. K̲ạ̄ja Abū Bakr Šāniyān (d. 581/1186): a shaikh of some celebrity in Qazvīn (see Ḥamdollāh Qazvīnī, *Tārīḵ-e gozīda,* ed. 'Abd al-Ḥoseyn Navā'ī [Tehran, 1339 Š./1960], p. 66).

[10]Contrary to our usual practice, we have translated the word *ẕekr* here as "remembrance" because of its occurrence in a series of cognate terms.

the spirit, which is the viceregent of God, manifests itself, and on account of its being the viceregent of God begins claiming "I am God."[11] It also happens that one sees all creation in prostration before the viceregal throne of the spirit and falls into the error of assuming the spirit to be God, being reminded of the Tradition that "when God manifests Himself to a thing, it humbles itself before Him."

Many errors of this kind occur, and the soul, being eager for its own enjoyment, is deceived by them. Not every traveler can separate and distinguish the true from the false, but only he who is the object of the gaze of God's grace and who is thus protected from the soul's wiles and God's cunning.

Now as for the differences between spiritual and dominical manifestation, the first is that spiritual manifestation bears the stamp of createdness and does not have the power to bring about effacement. Although when it appears it removes the human attributes, it cannot efface them, for when it retires behind the veil the human attributes return: "The ill-omened always revert to their nature." Matters will continue thus until, through the repeated manifestation of spirituality, the soul acquires the means of knowing and recognizing the cunning and wiles used by its own caprice to attain its aims, a means it did not previously possess.

The danger of error cannot exist in the case of the manifestation of God, Glorious and Almighty, because one of the necessary consequences of the manifestation of God is the flattening of the mountain of the soul and the vanishing of its false attributes—"Truth came and falsehood vanished; verily falsehood was destined to vanish."[12]

A further difference between the two manifestations is this: With the coming of the manifestation of the spirit, the heart does not attain tranquillity; it is not delivered from the impurities of doubt and hesitation; and it does not experience pure gnosis. With the manifestation of God, the opposite and reverse of all this is true.

[11]The theopathic utterance of Ḥallāj already quoted on pp. 173 and 239.
[12]Qur'an, 17:81.

Furthermore, there results from the manifestation of the spirit the deceit of fantasy; arrogance and separative existence are augmented; the painful longing of the quest is weakened; and fear and supplication decrease. But with the manifestation of God all these sources of harm are removed; being becomes changed into nonbeing; the painful longing of the quest is augmented; and thirst increases. Thus a saintly one says:

Union with Him has not quieted the burning of my heart,
Nor a draught of His limpid water quieted my thirst.
The design of existence, the pattern of being—both are gone,
But my obstinate love for His beauty will not be quieted.

As for God's manifestation, it is of two kinds: manifestation of the essence and manifestation of the attributes. Manifestation of the essence also comprises two kinds: manifestation of dominicality, and manifestation of divinity.

The manifestation given Moses, upon whom be peace, was the manifestation of dominicality. Moses did not depend on the mountain for receiving it; rather, the mountain depended on Moses: "When his Lord manifested Himself to the mountain, He caused it to be flattened, and Moses fell in a swoon."[13] The share of the mountain in the manifestation was being flattened, and the share of Moses was swooning. Since God Almighty manifested Himself with His dominicality, the being of both Moses and the mountain was preserved. Although the mountain was flattened and Moses fell in a swoon, dominicality acted to nourish and preserve, and left their beings in place.

The manifestation given to Moḥammad, upon whom be peace and blessings, was the manifestation of divinity. It plundered the entirety of the Moḥammadan being and established in place of that being the being of the Divine Essence—"Those who swear fealty unto thee swear fealty unto God; God's hand is above their hands."[14] The perfection of this felicity was not given to any other of the prophets, upon whom be peace. It is only the

[13]Qur'an, 7:143.
[14]Qur'an, 48:10.

laborers upon this Moḥammadan harvest who have been thus ennobled, and it is they who have plucked from the harvest the choice sheaf of "My servant continually approaches Me with supererogatory acts of devotion until I love him. When I love him, I shall be his hearing, his sight, his hand, and his tongue; by Me he shall hear, by Me he shall see, by Me he shall strike, and by Me he shall speak."[15] This felicity is derived from the property of the manifestation of the essence of divinity.

As for the manifestation of the attributes, it too is of two kinds: manifestation of the attributes of beauty and manifestation of the attributes of splendor.[16]

The manifestation of the attributes of beauty may be further divided into attributes pertaining to God's essence and attributes pertaining to God's acts. Attributes pertaining to the essence are, in turn, of two kinds: attributes of definition and attributes of description.[17]

An attribute of definition is one the word denoting which indicates the essence of the Creator, Glorious and Exalted, not something additional to the essence. Examples of this class of attribute are existence, oneness, and self-subsistence. If God manifests Himself with the attribute of existence, it will result in what Joneyd said—May God have mercy on him!: "There is naught in existence except God."[18] If God manifests Himself with the attribute of oneness, it will result in what Abū Sa'īd[19] said—May God have mercy on him!: "There is naught in my cloak except God." If God manifests Himself with the attribute of self-subsistence, it will result in what Bāyazīd[20] said: "Glory be unto me; how exalted is my rank!"

An attribute of description is one the word denoting which

[15]Tradition already quoted on p. 219.
[16]Concerning this division of the attributes, see p. 204, n. 11.
[17]In his analysis of the attributes, Dāya follows Aš'arī terminology (see Taftāzānī, *Šarḥ al-'aqā'ed*, pp. 40-62), incorporating, however, the Sufi distinction between the attributes of beauty and of splendor.
[18]Utterance already quoted on p. 299.
[19]I.e., Abū Sa'īd b. Abu'l-Ḵeyr, concerning whom see p. 36, n. 11.
[20]I.e., Bāyazīd Besṭāmī, concerning whom see p. 55, n. 12.

indicates something additional to the essence, as when we say that God has knowledge, power, will, hearing, sight, life, speech, and permanence. If God manifests himself with the attribute of knowledge as He did to Ḵeżr, upon whom be peace—"whom We had taught knowledge from Our presence"[21]—God-given knowledge will result. If God manifests Himself with the attribute of power, it will be as it was with Moḥammad, upon whom be peace, when he routed a whole army with a handful of dust—"Thou threw not when thou threw; rather, God threw."[22] If God manifests Himself with the attribute of will, it will be as it was with Bū 'Os̱mān Ḥīrī, who said: "For thirty years now God Almighty has constantly willed that which I will."[23] If God manifests Himself with the attribute of hearing, it will be as it was with Solomon, upon whom be peace, who heard the voice of an ant—"and an ant said, 'O ants, enter your dwellings!'"[24] If God manifests Himself with the attribute of sight, it will be as this writer says—

> Thus I am now the mirror to thy face,
> And with thine own eye I gaze on thy face.

Know that man in truth is the mirror of the essence and attributes of God. When the mirror is purified, God becomes manifest in it with whatever attribute He chooses. Whatever attribute is apparent in the mirror derives from the source of the manifestation and does not belong to the mirror as such; all that belongs to the mirror, once purified, is the capacity to reflect. The secret of man's viceregency is this, that he is the means and the instrument for the manifestation of God's essence and attributes.

If God manifests Himself with the attribute of life, it will be

[21]Qur'an, 18:66.

[22]Qur'an, 8:17; a verse revealed on the occasion of the battle of Badr, when the Muslims with divine succor defeated the Meccan polytheists.

[23]Bū 'Os̱mān Ḥīrī (d. 298/911): a Sufi who spent most of his life in Nishapur. For an account of him, including the dictum related here, see 'Aṭṭār, *Taẕkerat al-owliyā*, II, p. 45.

[24]Qur'an, 27:18.

as it was with Keżr and Elijah,[25] who have eternal life. If He manifests Himself with the attribute of speech, it will be as it was with Moses, upon whom be peace—"and God spoke directly unto Moses."[26] If He manifests Himself with the attribute of permanence, it results in the removal of human ego and the establishment in its place of the dominical attributes, for "God effaces and makes firm whatsoever He wills."[27] Thus did Ḥoseyn b. Mansūr say:

> Between me and Thee stands this troublesome I,
> So remove this I with Thy generosity![28]

As for the attributes that pertain to the divine acts, examples are the attributes of creator, provider, bestower of life, and bestower of death. When God manifests Himself with the attributes of creator, it will be as it was with Jesus, upon whom be peace—"and when thou createst the form of a bird from clay, by My permission."[29] When God manifests Himself with the attribute of provider, it will be as it was with Mary, upon whom be peace—"Shake the trunk of the palm tree toward thee, and ripe fruit will fall down to thee."[30] When God manifests Himself with the attribute of bestower of life, it will be as it was with Abraham, upon whom be peace—"O Lord, show me how Thou quicken the dead"[31]—and with Jesus—"and when thou bring forth the dead by My permission."[32] When God manifests Himself with the attribute of bestower of death, it will be as it was with the *morīd* of Abū Torāb Nakšabī:[33] As soon as the gaze of Bāyazīd fell upon him, he let out a cry and gave up the ghost. Such a per-

[25]Elijah (Elyās): A Prophet mentioned twice in the Qur'an (6:85 and 37:123–132). According to certain traditions, he assumed a semi-human and semi-angelic state at the end of his career, became immortal, and continues to manifest himself sporadically to men (see Sa'ālebī, *Qeṣaṣ al-anbiyā*, pp. 221ff). He thus has a certain affinity to Keżr.
[26]Qur'an, 4:163.
[27]Qur'an, 13:41.
[28]*Dīwān al-Ḥallāj*, p. 75.
[29]Qur'an, 5:113.
[30]Qur'an, 19:24.
[31]Qur'an, 2:260.
[32]Qur'an, 5:113.
[33]Abū Torāb Nakšabī (d. 245/859): an important early Sufi of Khorasan ('Aṭṭār, *Tazkerat al-owliyā*, I, 262). The story of his *morīd*'s fatal encounter with Bāyazīd is related in detail by 'Aṭṭār in *Tazkerat al-owliyā*, I, 136.

son can destroy whomever he chooses as object for his aspiration.[34] This last attribute, while being an attribute that pertains to the divine acts, is also connected to the attributes of splendor.

The attributes of splendor are also of two kinds: attributes of the essence and attributes that pertain to the divine acts. An example of the second kind is the attribute of bestower of death, as just set forth. As for the attributes of the essence, they are of two kinds—attributes of majesty and attributes of glory. When God manifests Himself with the attributes of majesty, an infinite and most awesome light appears, without color, form, or quality. At first, a glimmering is witnessed, which immediately brings about the effacement of the attributes of humanity and removes all traces of being, although sometimes it happens that the awareness of effacement persists. If the cupbearer of "their Lord shall give them to drink of a pure wine"[35] pours into the goblet of manifestation a single drop of the wine of splendor in excess of the capacity of the wayfarer's sainthood, then the assault of the wine will so conquer all the realm of his being that awareness of being and of the effacement of being will both depart. It is of such a state that "swooning" consists. Thus they have said:

> When morning dawned in the sky, the rays of its light
> Overpowered the departing light of the stars.
> If flame were tested with a drop from the cup that it gave them,
> It would fly off in fright, the speediest of travelers!

The present author offers these lines as suitable to the topic:

> The wine I have drunk does away with sobriety,
> And my drunken slumber, with all notion of waking.
> One goblet of Thy splendor's manifestation suffices:
> I am repelled alike by nonbeing and being.

[34]Aspiration *(hemmat):* "directing the heart with all its powers toward God in order to obtain a certain purpose for oneself or another" (Sajjādī, *Farhang-e moṣṭalaḥāt-e 'orafā va motaṣavvefa,* p. 426).
[35]Qur'an, 76:21.

The manifestation of the attributes of glory is also of two kinds: the attribute of living and life-sustaining; and the attribute of grandeur, magnificence, and supremacy. If God manifests Himself with the attribute of living and life-sustaining, the effacement of effacement will result, and the abiding of abiding, and the true meaning of God's light will become apparent. Thus He said: "God guides to His light whomsoever He wills."[36] This is a manifestation that suffers no concealment, an ascendancy that protects from decline.

With the manifestation of the attributes of beauty, manifestation alternates with concealment, for it is the station of mutability. By contrast, the manifestation of the attributes of splendor is the station of stability, and it removes duality. It is, however, extremely rare. Thus Shaikh Abū Sa'īd was once present in the circle of Shaikh Abū 'Alī Daqqāq,[37] may God sanctify their spirits! Shaikh Abū 'Alī was speaking about manifestation. Shaikh Abū Sa'īd was still young and subject to the dominance of instantaneous states. He arose and said: "O shaikh, is this state continuous?" He said: "Be seated, it is not." A second time he arose and said: "Is this state continuous?" He said: "Be seated, it is not." He remained seated for a while, then arose a third time and said: "Is this state continuous?" He said: "It is not, but if it is, it is rare." Shaikh Abū Sa'īd let out a cry, began turning, and said: "This is one such rarity, this is one such rarity!"[38] At this station the object of faith becomes the object of vision, and the object of vision becomes hidden in the organ of vision. Faith and unbelief lose all credence, and the duality of union and separation is gone. Thus the writer says:

> Thy face appears—faith and unbelief both depart;
> Thy manifestation sheds its light—heart and soul both depart.

[36]Qur'an, 24:35.

[37]Abū 'Alī Daqqāq (d. 406/1015 or 412/1021): the preceptor of Qošeyrī (d. 465/1072), author of the celebrated *Resāla;* see concerning him 'Aṭṭār, *Tazkerat al-owliyā,* II, pp. 158-169.

[38]This anecdote is drawn from Moḥammad b. Monavvar, *Asrār al-towḥīd,* p. 58. A less likely version of the same incident is recorded in Maḥmūd b. 'Uthmān, *Firdaus al-Murshidīya* (ed. Fritz Meier [Leipzig, 1948], pp. 76-77), where Abū Sa'īd is shown posing his question to Qošeyrī instead of his shaikh.

When manifestation takes our us-ness from us,
Hope for union and fear of separation both depart.

It is at this point that the reality of *lā elāha ellā'llāh* manifests itself, for the idol of existence totally vanishes and the monarchy of divinity establishes itself throughout the realm.

How might we become separate from ourselves,
Thou and I depart, and God alone remain?

When this reality appeared in the realm of the Moḥammadan being—peace be upon him!—God addressed to him this phrase: "So know that there is no god but God."[39] Until this station is witnessed, knowledge of the reality of *lā elāha ellā'llāh* will not appear. The verse continues, "and ask forgiveness for thy sin."[40] That is to say, "for the sin of thy existence." "Thy existence is a sin to which no other may be compared."[41]

The saying of the Prophet, upon whom be peace, that "temptation comes to my heart and I seek forgiveness of God seventy times a day"[42] means that "through intercourse with men, the conveying of the message, and the practice of social relationships, each moment a new existence is born within me and comes in front of the true sun like a cloud. By seeking forgiveness I negate that existence seventy times a day."

When God manifests Himself to the sainthood of the wayfarer with the attributes of grandeur, magnificence, and supremacy, he loses all that he had acquired, astonishment and perplexity taking its place, and his knowledge and gnosis are transformed into ignorance and unknowing. The wayfarer then says:

O pearl acquired with a lifetime's struggle,
Brought forth to the surface from the seabed!
The diver has placed thee in his hand of supplication,
And rolling from his hand thou fallest back to the sea!

[39]Qur'an, 47:19.
[40]Qur'an, 47:19.
[41]Tradition of dubious status.
[42]Tradition already quoted on p. 260.

The Prophet, upon whom be peace, was in this station when, after first repeating the recitation of "O Lord, increase me in knowledge,"[43] he began to recite instead the litany of "O guide of the perplexed, increase me in perplexity."[44] The wayfarer becomes at this station like the sea, with his whole being submerged in perplexity but ready to give up the ghost from thirst.

Even though the wretch be on the seashore,
It is only his dry lip that resembles the sea.

When God manifests Himself to the generality of men with the attributes of grandeur, magnificence, and supremacy, it is expressed as being the Day of Resurrection; with the appearance of the effects of the manifestation of His supremacy, He draws over the forelock of all beings the pen of "all things shall perish but His face."[45] He issues the summons of "whose is the kingdom?"[46] with neither caller nor answerer, and with the attribute of divinity Himself gives answer to that address of glory, saying: "It is God's, the one, the supreme."[47]

From Himself let Him hear, not from thee and me,
That the kingdom belongs to the One, the Supreme.

Know that there is an extremely fine difference, not perceptible to every wayfarer, between witnessing, unveiling, and manifestation. Here we will explain this much, that witnessing may or may not be joined to manifestation, and manifestation may or may not be joined to witnessing.

A veritable manifestation, however, is that which occurs when there is consciousness only of the manifestation, without any witnessing. For witnessing, being a mode of interaction, pre-

[43]Qur'an, 20:114.
[44]"Increase me in perplexity": a frequent Sufi gloss of Qur'an, 20:114 (see Esmā'īl Ḥaqqī, *Rūḥ al-bayān*, V, pp. 432–433). It is attributed in Hojvīrī, *Kašf al-maḥjūb* (p. 232), to the early Sufi Šeblī (d. 334/945). "Perplexity" *(ḥeyrat)* has the technical sense of "averting oneself from the attempt to gain control of the knowable" (Sajjādī, *Farhang-e moṣṭalahāt-e 'orafā va motaṣavvefa*, pp. 156-157).
[45]Qur'an, 28:88.
[46]Qur'an, 40:16.
[47]Qur'an, 40:16.

supposes duality, while a veritable manifestation abolishes duality and establishes unity.[48] Neither witnessing nor manifestation may be without unveiling, although unveiling may be accompanied by neither witnessing nor manifestation. And God is most knowing.

As for the saying of the Prophet, upon whom be peace, that "God created Adam and manifested Himself in him," that manifestation in Adam was with the essence and all the attributes, in the sense of making apparent rather than appearing. There was neither witnessing nor consciousness, only the making apparent of the attributes. At the time of the inhalation of the spirit—"and I inhaled in him of My spirit"[49]—through the effect of the inhalation and the quality of that elect spirit, honored by its relationship to "My spirit," two nobilities were implanted in Adam's nature: the mystery of manifestation and the knowledge of the names: "and He taught Adam the names, all of them."[50] God's saying, "verily We have ennobled the sons of Adam"[51] refers to these two seeds of felicity that were planted in Adam's clay. Similarly, His address to Eblīs, "What has prevented thee from prostrating before that which I created with My hands?" also refers to these two principles. The true nature of man's viceregency lies in this, that God has manifested Himself in him with His essence and all the divine attributes, so that all the attributes exist in him. This is the reason for the prostration of the angels before Adam: since God was manifest in him, their prostration was not, in reality, to Adam. In the same way that our prostration today is not to the *qebla* or to the Ka'ba, but rather to the Lord of the House, so too the prostration before Adam was to the Lord of the House. But Eblīs was one-eyed; with that one eye he saw only the house, and he was blind in the eye that would have enabled him to see the Lord of the House. He was unable to see him and became accursed, for "the defective are cursed."

The seed of manifestation was first planted in the clay of

[48]See p. 140, n. 24.
[49]Qur'an, 15:29.
[50]Qur'an, 2:31.
[51]Qur'an, 17:70.

Adam; it put forth green shoots in the sainthood of Moses; and its fruit ripened to perfection in the sainthood of Moḥammad. Until the end of the world, or rather unto all eternity, the laborers on this auspicious harvest shall eat of this fruit of felicity: "On that day there will be radiant visages gazing upon their Lord."[52]

God's blessings be upon Moḥammad and his family.

[52]Qur'an, 75:22.

Twentieth Chapter:
Concerning Attaining to the Divine Presence, with neither Absorption[1] *nor Separation*

God Almighty said: "Then he approached and remained suspended, at a distance of two bowstrings or nearer."[2] He said too: "And truly to Thy Lord is the ending."[3]

The Prophet, upon whom be peace and blessings, said: "God revealed to Jesus these words: 'Hunger, and thou shalt see Me; divest thyself, and thou shalt attain unto Me.'"[4]

Know that attainment to the Divine Presence is not like the joining of one body to another, nor that of an accident to a body, nor that of knowledge to the thing known, nor that of intelligence to the intelligible, nor that of anything to anything: God is greatly exalted above all such similarity.

Know too that attainment to the presence does not come from the efforts of God's bondsman, but from God's uncaused grace and the effect of the rapturous states that His divinity bestows. Shaikh Abu'l-Ḥasan Ḵaraqānī—May God sanctify his spirit!—says: "There are two paths to the Mighty Presence: one from man to God, the other from God to man. The path from man to God is misguidance upon misguidance, and the path from God to man is guidance upon guidance."[5]

Moses, upon whom be peace, first went by his own path—

[1]"Absorption" *(etteṣāl):* the word *etteṣāl* is sometimes encountered as a synonym of *voṣūl* ("attaining") and sometimes as the designation of a stage beyond *voṣūl,* a state of permanent "joining" introduced by the act of *voṣūl* (Sajjādī, *Farhang-e moṣṭalaḥāt-e 'orafā va motaṣavvefa,* pp. 13–15). It is evident, however, that Dāya uses the word in neither of these senses, since *voṣūl* is described as excluding *etteṣāl* and as the final station on the Path. It appears that he intends the word to have the same sense as *etteḥād* (the merging of Creator and creation; see p. 239, n. 23); this is suggested by the third paragraph of this chapter.

[2]Qur'an, 53:8.

[3]Qur'an, 53:42.

[4]Tradition previously quoted on p. 144.

[5]This dictum of Ḵaraqānī (concerning whom see p. 74, n. 18) is to be found in Hojvīrī, *Kašf al-maḥjūb,* p. 186, and 'Aṭṭār, *Tazkerat al-owliyā,* II, 186.

"and when Moses came to Our fixed time"[6]—and thus when he said, "Show me, that I may look upon Thee," inevitably he was answered with "Thou shalt not see Me."[7] That is, "O Moses, thou hast come by thine own path. Such vision is not given to those who come by a gate of their own choosing, but rather to those who come out of the gate of all selfhood." This writer says:

If thou art a companion to the love of our beauty,
  And would truly stand at our gate, heed one word—
As long as thou hast thouness, thou canst not attain
    our gate;
  Thou shalt attain our gate when thou attain us.

As for the Prophet, upon whom be peace, since he was taken by God's path—"glory be to Him who carried His servant by night"[8]—he was borne beyond "two bowstrings" and conveyed to the station of "or nearer."[9] All the garments of his Mohammadan being were drawn over the head of his existence—"Moḥammad is not the father of one among your men"[10]—and he was clothed in the cloak of honor of the attribute of mercy. Then, as mercy endowed with form, he was sent down to creation. When he set out he was Moḥammad; when he returned he was mercy—"and We did not send thee save as a mercy for all the worlds."[11]

When he had attained to the Divine Presence, with the removal of duality and the establishment of oneness, of necessity these glad tidings were given to the cripples of his community and the feeble among his people: "Not everyone's Borāq-like[12] aspiration is able to rise from the threshold of the human state to the Lote Tree of the limit of spirituality, enabling him to partake of attainment to Our divine presence. But let each lay his head on the threshold of the Prophet and fasten the belt of obedience to him around his soul's waist, for duality has departed from that station, and unity settled in its place. Whoso-

[6]Qur'an, 7:143.
[7]Qur'an, 7:143.
[8]Qur'an, 17:1.
[9]Qur'an, 53:8.
[10]Qur'an, 33:40.
[11]Qur'an, 21:107.
[12]Concerning Borāq, see p. 197, n. 21.

ever finds him, finds Me—' "Whoever obeys the Prophet obeys God' "[13]—and between him and Me there is no otherness: ' "Thou art We, and We are thee and 'those who swear fealty unto thee swear fealty unto God.' "[14]

Thus, in the clay of spirituality and the particle of humanity of every auspicious one, whose final return and ending is to be the Divine Presence—"Truly to thy Lord is the ending"[15]—there was implanted, at the first beginning, with the pact of "am I not your Lord?"[16] the ferment of God's scattered light: "God created His creation in darkness, and then scattered His light over them."[17] From the draining of the goblet of the primordial pact, the palate of their souls tasted such joy that its trace shall never quit them; indeed, their very being depends on that taste. The scattered light always aspires to its center and source, never accustoming itself to this realm. Hence those who receive it do not abandon, for a single instant, the pleasure that it gives and the source of that pleasure. This writer says:

Thy lovers have come drunk from *alast,*
  Their heads giddied by the wine of *alast.*
They drink on, deaf to all counsel,
  For their worship of wine goes back to *alast.*[18]

Similarly, a drop of oil may be hidden in the soil beneath the ocean. Gradually it will seek to separate itself from the soil, and it will not accustom itself either to all the water of the ocean, refusing to become mixed with it. When it has the opportunity to escape from the soil, it will rise immediately to the surface of the ocean, trampling the water underfoot, and paying no attention to the various jewels that the ocean contains. But if it encounters another drop of oil, it will place forthwith the arm of assent around the neck of its friendship. And if it has the good fortune to meet a spark of fire, without delay it will sacrifice its being to the spark's existence. If, however, you were to place all

[13]Qur'an, 4:79.
[14]Qur'an, 47:10.
[15]Qur'an, 53:42.
[16]Qur'an, 7:171.
[17]Opening part of a Tradition recorded by Termeẕī, Ebn Ḥanbal, and Ṭabarānī.
[18]Quatrain by Dāya.

of the ocean in front of fire, neither would fire embrace the ocean, nor the ocean mingle with fire; rather, it would flee from it as fast as it could. Now men's souls are like drops in the ocean of the world; they are soon mingled with it. But spirits, which derive from God's presence, are like oil: they are never mingled with the ocean of the world. When, however, they encounter the drop of oil that is the hereafter and the bliss of Paradise—for it too is spiritual in nature—they mingle with it; and if they have the good fortune to encounter a spark from the fire of the manifestation of God's splendor, they embrace it with all their being, sacrificing their being to its being, and counting the nonexistence of their own being as true existence.

Whoever was taught this love's game, before all time,
In his heart a candle of love was lit, to burn beyond all time.
And the heart that was set aside for union with Him,
From the sight of both worlds was like a hawk hooded.
How then do they endure separation, in this abode,
Those heart-reft ones who were reared for union in that abode?
At times in separation they melted helplessly like candles;
At times they burned on the flame of His union like moths.
When the cupbearer filled the goblets in the tavern of effacement,
They sold for wine all their belongings in both worlds.
Did this tale reveal, maybe, some secret to Najm-e Rāzī?
—"All the sorrows both worlds hold, for him they have been hoarded."

Upon whose neck the lasso of grace falls, there it falls; and upon whose neck the chain of wrath is fastened, there it is fastened: "The felicitous is he who is felicitous in his mother's womb; and the wretched is he who is wretched in his mother's womb."[19] The pen of unbelief had been drawn across the forelock of Eblīs even before he existed—"he was of the unbelievers"[20]—

[19]Tradition of unknown status; its sense is equivalent to the last part of the Tradition quoted on p. 110.
[20]Qur'an, 2:34.

and the impress of accursedness was placed on his brow without him—"verily My curse is upon thee until the Day of Judgment."[21] God the Mighty spoke these words in pre-eternity; it was not an occurrence that happened that day: "Our black cloak has its color from Gīlān."[22] Those birds that today seek out the trap of affection and pluck from it the seed of affliction have the stooping neck with which they seek and the gullet with which they swallow from another world.

The origin of love's jewel is a different mine,
  And the abode of lovers is a different world.
The bird that eats the seed of love's sorrow
  Is from a different nest, beyond this realm and that.[23]

The sparks of love's fire were implanted in the stony heart of the lovers when God scattered forth His light: "And then scattered His light over them; whoever was touched by that light was guided, and whoever was not touched by it went astray."[24]

In order to make the sparks appear from the stone, iron was needed, and so God sent the iron of the phrase *lā elāha ellā'llāh.* The Prophet said: "I have been commanded to fight men until they say *lā elāha ellā'llāh.*"[25] God commanded men, saying: "Make remembrance of God abundantly, that haply ye might prosper."[26] That is, "Strike this ironlike phrase against the rock of your heart until there appears the spark of the fire of love that is inherent in both the iron and the rock."

Do not look with contempt on the darkness of the commanding soul, like the angels who said, "Wilt Thou make upon earth one who shall cause corruption?"[27] being immature infants—"Verily I know that which ye know not."[28] When they heard the

[21]Qur'an, 38:78.
[22]Evidently a proverb, referring to the fast black dye of cloaks from Gīlān and signifying irremediable ill-fortune.
[23]Quatrain presumably of Dāya's own composition.
[24]The concluding part of the Tradition quoted on p. 326 ("God created His creation in darkness. . . .").
[25]Tradition previously quoted on p. 93.
[26]Qur'an, 8:46.
[27]Qur'an, 2:30.
[28]Qur'an, 2:30.

name of viceregent, they looked and saw only the darkness of the soul, and shied away from its blackness. They did not know that the water of life of gnosis was hidden in that darkness, for when the sparks of the fire of love appear from the stone of the heart and the iron of *lā elāha ellā'llāh,* the satin cloth of spirituality cannot endure them, however precious and fine it may be. That burned and blackfaced soul of man is then needed to come forward and snatch up those sparks with heart and soul—"and man bore it; truly he was extremely oppressive, extremely ignorant."[29] It is only these lowly human attributes that can act as host to that fire from the unseen world, enabling it to reside in the manifest world—"Make remembrance of Me, and I shall make remembrance of you."[30] But if that guest from the unseen world fails to receive its nourishment for a single instant, it will not survive: "They forgot God, and He forgot them."[31]

Whenever there sprouts forth on the tree of humanity the branch of a lowly human attribute, the sincere lover, with the hand of sincerity, brings down the axe of *lā elāha* on the root of that branch, and throws it on the fire of *ellā'llāh.* That fire will embrace it in accordance with the promise of "I shall make remembrance of you,"[32] and as it takes from the branch its wood being, gives to it in exchange its own fire being. Finally, the whole of the human tree, with its branches of lowly human attribute and its roots of spirit and *malakūt,* is given to the fire to consume. The fire lights up all parts of the being of the tree, and the being of the tree becomes pure fire. If once it was a tree, now it is fire; and true union is attained. Thus the writer says:

> When my soul near expired for love of a moonface,
> I said to her, "Wilt thou cure me by union with thee?"
> She said, "If thou hast need of our union, then go;
> Remain not thyself, let me alone remain."

When the green tree of the human soul is sacrificed to true fire—"He Who made a fire for you from the green tree"[33]—then

[29]Qur'an, 33:72.
[30]Qur'an, 2:152.
[31]Qur'an, 9:68.
[32]Qur'an, 2:152.
[33]Qur'an, 36:80.

fire will cry out with the tree's tongue: "O heedless ones! I am fire, not the tree." "He was called from the right side of the valley in the blessed spot, from the tree: 'O Moses, I, even I, am God.'"[34]

When the fire embraced all the tree of wretched Ḥoseyn b. Manṣūr, the flames of "I am God" rose from him even before the whole tree had been burned.[35] There were strangers nearby who were almost burned by the flame of "I am God," but God's dominical favor protected them. It was as if He said: "The property of this fire is that it is blessed both for the one within it and the one standing near it—'blessed is he who is in the fire and he who is near unto it.'[36] O Ḥoseyn, this fire is blessed for thee, but it must suit too those who stand near it and be blessed for them. We are blessed for friend and foe alike."

Nothing less than aloes wood is fit to burn in this fire, for when the fire gains control of all parts of its being, it begins to exhale sweet breath. Fire is a blessing for the aloes wood in that it makes apparent its hidden scent; were it not for fire, there would be no difference between aloes and other kinds of wood. The dignity of the aloes depends upon fire, and since fire was a blessing for the aloes, the aloes offered up its own being in gratitude. It said, "let all of me burn, so that the fire should be a blessing too to those who stand near; let me do nothing ugly, for such is not the way of the chivalrous." The more the aloes burned, the more it pleased those who stood near it.

Let me burn on thy love's fire
  If for me to burn pleases thee.
Thou said, "Lose thy life in manly style";
  What is a lover to do, except lose his life?

[34]Qur'an, 28:30.

[35]The remainder of the chapter constitutes a masterly commentary on the "passion" of Ḥoseyn b. Manṣūr (Ḥallāj), in which Dāya elucidates the inner sense of the successive stages of his death and annihilation. While not yet divested of his separative being, he repeated the theopathic utterance, "I am God," but after that being had been fully abolished with the burning of his corpse, there arose the sound of the divine name alone, without any mention of ego. For the events elucidated in this manner, see 'Aṭṭār, *Tazkerat al-owliyā*, II, pp. 122-123.

[36]Qur'an, 27:8.

Ḥoseyn, in Sufi fashion, stood asking for forgiveness and cast off his human being like a cloak. He said: "O God, I have effaced my humanity in Thy divinity, and my humanity has the claim on Thy divinity that Thou should have mercy on those who sought to kill me. We have sacrificed, like aloes, all the tree of our human being to the fire of Thy love; through Thy favor, perfume, then, with the scent of mercy the nostrils of those who around this fire strive to bring about this, my felicity, so that the fire shall be a blessing to them too."

The reply came: "O Ḥoseyn, even though the fire of Our love attacked the tree of thy being, and the fiery flames of 'I am God' rose up from it, it did not burn fully, and the flames were not free of the smoke of ego. When thou hast sacrificed to the fire all the tree of thy being, lost the form and frame from which the smoke of ego arose, and burned on Our fire of affliction—then We will command the ashes of thy frame to be cast on the waters, and We will remove the veil of concealment from the beauty of thy perfection. Then on the face of the waters the smokeless fire of thy being will manifest '*ALLĀH, ALLĀH!*' and Our uncaused grace will become plain to the generality and elect of mankind: 'Truly God does not wrong anyone by as much as an atom's weight; and if there be a good deed, He will multiply it, and bestow from Himself a mighty reward.' "[37]

Those who in love's realm are ready to sacrifice themselves like the moth, and around the neck of whose heart fell the lasso of God's rapture in the age of *alast*,[38] are today flying around the pavilions of the beauty of the candle of God's splendor, on the wing of the pain of the quest, in such manner that in accordance with God's saying, "Whosoever approaches Me by a span, him I approach by a cubit,"[39] one of the flames of that candle goes forth to meet him; and with the hand of "a rapturous state bestowed by God is equal to the deeds of men and jinn,"[40] it draws him into the embrace of union, saying: " 'O tranquil soul, return to thy

[37]Qur'an, 4:39.
[38]I.e., the age of the pre-eternal covenant, when God addressed human souls and asked them, "am I not *(alasto)* your Lord?" (Qur'an, 7:172).
[39]Tradition previously quoted on p. 222.
[40]Dictum previously quoted on p. 222; see also p. 222, n. 15.

Lord, well-pleased and well-pleasing.'[41] Until when wilt thou fly around the pavilions of Our beauty on the wing of mothhood—'man was created weak'?[42] Come, abandon this wing on the battlefield of 'those who struggle for Our sake,' so that in accordance with the custom of 'surely We shall guide them to Our paths,'[43] We may grant thee a wing taken from the flame of Our lights—'God guides to His light whomsoever He wills.'"[44]

O heart, not with mere words is this path given thee;
Only at nonbeing's gate is union given thee.
And in that sky where His birds are winging,
As long as thou hast wings, no wing is given thee.

"Until now, flying by thine own wings, thou were but a crazed moth; now that thou fly by Our wings, thou art unique and peerless. Now thou art of us, not a stranger. Remove, indeed, all pretext of we-ness: thou art both the pearl and the oyster, both the soul and the beloved."

Thou art a soul and thought thyself a person;
Thou art water and thought thyself a bucket.[45]

"Henceforth thou art not thee in truth, for of thee there remains unto thee only a name."

Love came and like blood ran through my flesh and veins;
Emptied me, then filled me with the Friend.
The Friend took from me every part of my being,
Of me, a name remained to me; the rest is all HE.

[41]Qur'an, 89:28.
[42]Qur'an, 4:27.
[43]Qur'an, 29:69.
[44]Qur'an, 24:35.
[45]A line from Sanā'ī (*Dīvān*, p. 466).

Fourth Part:

Concerning the Return of the Souls of the Felicitous and the Wretched, and Containing Four Chapters because of the Blessing Inherent in These Words of God Almighty: "Take Four Birds"[1]

[1]Qur'an, 2:260.

First Chapter:
Concerning the Return of the Oppressive Soul, Which Is the Reproachful Soul

God Almighty said: "As He caused you to begin, so shall ye return: a party He has guided, and a party deserves its misguidance."[2]

He said too: "We have caused to inherit the Book those whom We chose among Our bondsmen: among them are those who are oppressive to themselves, those who follow a middle path, and those who are foremost in good deeds, by God's permission."[3]

The Prophet, upon whom be peace and blessings, said: "As you live, so you shall die; and as you die, so you shall be resurrected."[4]

Know that the true meaning of the return is the turning back of human souls to the Divine Presence, either through choice, as with the souls of the felicitous, or through compulsion, as with the souls of the wretched. The return of all is to that presence—"Verily to Us is their return."[5] And God said too: "As He caused you to begin, so shall ye return."[6]

We intend here by human souls the essences of men, constituted by the sum of the spirit, the heart and the soul. We have designated the essence as the soul because God Almighty also calls it "soul" at the time of its return—"O tranquil soul, return."[7] In reality the address is to the essence of man, which is the sum of his inner being, and not to a part of it. When this essence was joined to the bodily frame, God called it "spirit" ("and I inhaled in him of My spirit"),[8] for the spirit was the origin, and the heart

[2]Qur'an, 7:29.
[3]Qur'an, 35:32.
[4]Tradition; see Forūzānfar, *Aḥādīs̱-e Mas̱navī*, p. 18.
[5]Qur'an, 86:25.
[6]Qur'an, 7:29.
[7]Qur'an, 89:28.
[8]Qur'an, 15:29.

and soul were to come into being only after the marriage of the spirit to the frame, as we have previously explained.[9] God calls the sum "soul" at the time of return because in common usage the word "soul" is given broad meaning and has the sense of essence; the soul of a thing and its essence are the same. Indeed, God Almighty has called His own essence "soul": "Thou knowest what is in my soul, and I know not what is in Thy soul."[10] That is, "in Thy essence."

A gardener takes the seed to the garden when it is time for sowing and plants it, and when the seed reaches maturity, he plucks the fruit and takes it home, the seed being contained within the fruit. So too, the human soul is the fruit of the human spirit: When the seed was sown, it was called "spirit," and when the fruit is plucked, it is called "soul."

Now there is a difference of opinion among the people of realization and wayfaring as to whether or not every soul can pass beyond the station it originally had and advance to another station. Some have said that with training it can advance and pass beyond its first station. Others have said that it stops when it reaches its own fixed station, and cannot reach a further station for which it does not have the capacity, just as a cornseed can neither pass beyond the state of corn and become a chick-pea by mere cultivation, nor descend and become barley, any more than a barleyseed can grow into corn. Upon cultivation, however, each seed may attain the perfection of its own degree; while if there be some shortcoming in its cultivation, it will become deficient and weak and lacking in kernel.

That which is indicated by the view of this feeble one, and has been witnessed by him through the unveiling of the truths and inner meanings of things, is that with training some souls may advance beyond their own station and attain another station, while others may advance without so attaining another station. For at the primordial beginning, spirits were arranged in four ranks—"spirits are like armies, drawn up in ranks."[11]

[9]See p. 192.
[10]Qur'an, 5:116.
[11]Part of Tradition quoted in full on p. 220.

The first rank is that of the spirits of the prophets, upon whom be peace, and the elect among the saints, theirs being the station of immediacy.[12] The second rank is that of the spirits of the commonalty among the saints and the elect among the believers. The third rank is that of the spirits of the commonalty among the believers and the elect among the sinners. The fourth rank is that of the spirits of the commonalty among the sinners, and those of the hypocrites and unbelievers. The people of the fourth rank cannot attain the station of the third rank; the people of the third rank cannot attain the station of the second rank; and the people of the second rank cannot attain the station of the first rank.

As for the people of the first rank, those who stand in the station of immediacy and have been nurtured by the radiance of the light of the divine attributes, they are deserving of the rapturous states that enable them to advance from the station of spirituality to the world of the divine attributes. They are like tinder that has been nurtured by the effect of fire so that susceptibility to a spark of fire is inherent in its nature. If a flash of lightning leaps forth, or iron is struck against rock, or a fiery flame reaches out, the fire will touch only the tinder, even though a thousand types of fine wares and cloth and precious jewels be present.

> Again thou hast set fire to my heart—
> To set fire to the burned is indeed easy.

With the tongue of longing, the burned soul addresses the spark of the fire of rapture, saying:

> The true worth of thy burning is hidden from the raw;
> Burn then for me, already burned a hundredfold!

When those burned by the fire of longing are delivered from the desert of separation that is the state of humanity and reach the frontier of the Ka'ba of attainment, they cannot pass beyond that station by themselves. But the welcoming party of gen-

[12]Immediacy *(bīvāseṭagī):* literally, "absence of intermediary."

erosity, in the form of rapturous states bestowed by God, goes graciously forward to meet them and brings them into the sanctuary of auspiciousness by virtue of the aptitude that was implanted in them at the beginning: "There are seven whom God shelters in His shade."[13] It is for this reason that "a rapturous state bestowed by God is equal to the deeds of jinn and men," for the combined deeds of all the sublime host and of jinn and men cannot enable a single bondsman of God to partake of the manifestation of the Divine Presence. It is only the rapture God bestows that may accomplish this, for He seats His bondsman at the feast of proximity of "or nearer."[14] Thus one such rapturous state is of necessity better than the deeds of all creation.

As for those bondsmen who have been delivered from their own selfhood and are voyaging in the realm of divinity through the effect of God's rapture, a single breath of theirs is equal to the deeds of the inhabitants of both worlds; rather it surpasses those deeds.

> The Sufis celebrate two festivals in one breath,
> Just as the spiders make salted meat out of flies.[15]

Each moment, a new being arises in the self-effaced Sufi which is then effaced by the effect of God's rapture, and by virtue of that effacement he advances a new step in his voyaging: "God effaces that which He wills and makes firm that which He wills."[16] Thus in each moment there takes place an effacement and a making firm, and it is in this sense that the Sufi celebrates two festivals: a festival of effacement and a festival of making firm. It is at this station that the being of the wayfarer is identical to the being of the phrase *lā elāha ellā'llāh,* for both consist of negation and affirmation. If at this station he is called "spirit of

[13]Part of a Tradition; source unknown.
[14]Qur'an, 53:9.
[15]A line from the *Ḥadīqat al-ḥaqīqa* of Sanā'ī (p. 369).
[16]Qur'an, 13:41.

God" or "word of God,"[17] it will suit him, and be a cloak tailored to his stature.

The people of the other ranks are deprived of the good fortune of this perfection, but each group, when nurtured to perfection in its own station, will advance within its own limits and attain a perfection it did not previously possess. Thus the cornseed, although weak when first planted, will multiply seven hundredfold and strengthen if properly cultivated, and finally be gathered in the granary.

Moreover, the spirits of the people of each rank, after acquiring due aptitude and purity, will come to face those of the next superior rank and receive the reflection of their perfections. Even though they are not of them, they are with them; and "man is to be found with those whom he loves."[18] God said: "They it is who are in the company of those whom God has given His bounty—the prophets, the sincere devotees, the witnesses and the righteous. How fair is their fellowship! That generosity is from God."[19] The last part of the verse bears this meaning: "This degree that they enjoy is not present in their original nature and capacity; it is purely Our divine generosity, bestowed upon them." This matter is also indicated in the promise "There is for those who did good a good reward, and more in excess."[20] "The good reward" is the bounty of Paradise, which is the fruit of the seed of "did good"; while that which they receive by way of the good fortune of the vision and witnessing of the divine attributes is the "more in excess," proceeding from God's generosity and liberality.

[17]Both phrases are among the Qur'anic epithets of Jesus; see Qur'an, 4:171: "The Christ Jesus son of Mary was a Messenger of God and His Word, bestowed upon Mary, and a Spirit from Him." Their occurrence in the description of a station on the path is an indication that at a certain point the wayfarer becomes "Christlike" not in the sense of a deliberate "imitation of Christ," but in the sense of manifesting the spiritual properties that Islam associates—although not exclusively—with Jesus. The notion of each prophet being the "patron" of a certain station on the Path becomes explicit in later Sufism; see, for example, the Qāderī manual, Esmā'īl al-Qāderī's *al-Foyūżāt al-rabbānīya* (Cairo, n.d.), p. 37.

[18]Tradition recorded by Moslem, Boḵārī, Termeẕī, Dāremī, and Ebn Ḥanbal.

[19]Qur'an, 4:69.

[20]Qur'an, 10:26.

God Almighty has thus declared men to belong to four different classes. Three classes are those of the people of choice and acceptance, and the other is that of the people of wretchedness and rejection. In His saying, "We have caused to inherit the Book those whom We chose among Our bondsmen: among them are those oppressive to themselves, those who follow a middle path, and those who are foremost in good deeds, by God's permission,"[21] the three groups mentioned are the people of acceptance, because He mentioned them using the word "chose." That is, "We have chosen them from among Our bondsmen." The rejected He has threaded on a single string: "None shall enter it but the most wretched, who call the truth lies and turn from it."[22] God designated Paradise as the place of return and reversion for the first three groups, with different degrees to be enjoyed by each—"Verily the righteous are in bliss."[23] He designated Hell as the place of return and reversion for the rejected, both unbelievers and hypocrites—"Verily God shall gather the hypocrites and the unbelievers together in Hell."[24]

Since the human being is a union of the spiritual and corporeal worlds, there is within him a specimen of all that exists in both worlds. Just as God brought forth four ranks in the world of spirits, so too He created four degrees of the soul in the world of the human person: the commanding, the reproachful, the inspired, and the tranquil. Thus in the human being a certain degree of the soul corresponds to the rank of each class of spirits. To the people of the first rank belongs the tranquil soul; to those of the second rank, the inspired soul; to those of the third rank, the reproachful soul; and to those of the fourth rank, the commanding soul. None can pass beyond his proper station, for the capacity to do so was not placed in its seed, exception being made only for the people of the first rank, as we explained.

If someone should ask, "Since everyone will return to the station whence he came, what was the use and purpose of his

[21]Qur'an, 35:32; also given at the beginning of the chapter.
[22]Qur'an, 92:15.
[23]Qur'an, 82:13.
[24]Qur'an, 4:139.

coming?" we would answer as follows: Although all return to their original station, they do not return in the state in which they departed. Some return with the high degree of felicity, and others with the low degree of wretchedness, as God said: "By the declining day! Verily man is in a state of loss, except those who believe and do righteous deeds."[25]

This matter may be compared to seed cast in the ground. At first the seed begins to decay and starts perishing. Then some of it is properly cultivated and protected against harm, and increases tenfold, a hundredfold or seven hundredfold. The part that is not cultivated rots in its entirety; it is neither seed nor fruit.

In addition, seeds are of different kinds. Some when cultivated yield a fruit identical to the seed itself—like corn, barley, chick-peas, lentils, beans, and so forth. When they ripen, they have neither husk nor kernel. Other seeds also reproduce themselves exactly, but have a husk that is of no use and a kernel that is of use. Such are the walnut, the almond, and the pistachio; they have a green husk but it is of no use. Then too there are seeds that reproduce themselves exactly and have a husk that constitutes the fruit and a kernel that is of no use. Such are the date, the sorb, the olive, and the like. Their husk is of use, but not their kernel. Still other seeds reproduce themselves exactly and bear fruit, and both the husk and the kernel are of use, like the apricot, the peach, the fig, and so forth. All fruits belong to one or other of these four categories.

The spirits of men, drawn up in their four ranks, resemble the seeds, for when they are sown in the soil of the bodily frame, they too yield fruit of four kinds. First is the seed of the spirits of the unbelievers, to whom belongs the commanding soul. They return exactly as they came, with neither husk nor kernel, like corn and barley. Second is the seed of the spirits of believers "oppressive to themselves"; theirs is the reproachful soul. They return with the husk of reproachfulness, but that husk is of no use; only the kernel is of use, as with the walnut, the almond, and the pistachio. Third is the seed of the spirits of those be-

[25]Qur'an, 103:1-3.

lievers "who follow a middle path"; theirs is the inspired soul. They return with the husk of divine inspiration, which is of necessity a sweet fruit, like fresh dates, but has no kernel of any real use. The fourth is the seed of the spirits of the foremost, to whom belongs the tranquil soul. They return with a sweet husk and kernel, like the apricot, the peach, and the fig; both husk and kernel are of use. The states of each class will be described in a separate chapter, God Almighty willing.

* * *

In this chapter we will begin by setting forth the state of the reproachful soul, which is indicated in the phrase, "among them are those oppressive to themselves," and by describing its return, since God Almighty also mentioned it first among the three groups of the people of acceptance.

Know that the oppressive are the people of the third rank in the world of spirits; in this world too, they occupy the third among the degrees of the soul. For the oppressive are possessors of the reproachful soul, and reproachfulness is the third degree, coming after tranquillity and inspiredness. In the Qur'an too, the oppressive soul occupies the third rank, coming after the foremost and those that follow a middle path. It is the soul of the commonalty among the believers and the elect among the sinners.

The name "oppressive" has been given to such a one because he acts outwardly like the people of unbelief, despite the light of faith he has in his heart. He thus comes to be an oppressor, for the root meaning of oppression *(ẓolm)* is "putting something in other than its proper place." Moreover, he covers up the light of faith with the darkness of the oppression that is sin, whereas God said: "Those who believe and do not shroud their belief with oppression—theirs is security."[26] Then too, he commits oppression toward his own self, for he sins more than he worships, and when on the Day of Judgment the pan containing his sins

[26]Qur'an, 6:82.

outweighs the pan containing his worship, he will be found fit for Hell, as God said: "As for him whose balance is light, his home shall be the abyss."[27]

Know in truth that the people of each rank among the accepted in turn comprise three classes: those who are on the right, those who are on the left, and those who stand in front of the center of the rank. Thus God says: "Ye shall be divided into three classes. There shall be the Companions of the Right—what will be the Companions of the Right? And the Companions of the Left—what will be the Companions of the Left? And the foremost, they shall be the foremost; they are those drawn nigh unto God."[28] Each rank will thus be divided, in appropriate fashion, into the Companions of the Right, the Companions of the Left, and the foremost.

The Companions of the Right are those persons whose seed of spirituality, when joined to the soil of the bodily frame, was not cultivated to perfection, enabling it to multiply a hundredfold or seven hundredfold; but neither did it become a prisoner of the bodily frame through the effect of the human attributes. It sprouted and again reached the station of seedhood, and even though it did not increase, neither did it suffer decrease. This group is under the dominance of the angelic attribute; its members are the people of worship and little inclined to sin. They are destined for salvation; departing by the right hand of felicity, they take the road to Paradise and return to their spiritual station without delay.

The Companions of the Left are those who have done harm to their seed of spirituality. Even though they have not totally destroyed the seed, damage and deficiency have appeared in it because of the deeds of their human attributes. This group is much inclined to sin. Departing by the left hand of wretchedness, its members are carried off to Hell and conveyed through its lowly degrees until all pollution is removed from them. They then return to their proper station, although with some deficiency.

[27]Qur'an, 101:8.
[28]Qur'an, 56:10.

The foremost are those who have cultivated their seed of spirituality and caused it to attain perfection of degree, multiplying it a hundredfold or seven hundredfold. They comprise two classes. The first consists of those who, from beginning to end, were under the dominance of the attributes of spirituality, and were never polluted by the harm of transgression. In accordance with the verse "Those to whom the good has gone forth from us, they are far removed therefrom,"[29] they have shunned all complicity with the soul and subordination to passion. The second class consists of those who initially took a few steps in accordance with the soul's wishes and breathed for a while in obedience to instinctual nature, but through the lasso of divine grace and rapture were enabled to avert their faces from bestial indulgence and animal degree. With the elixir of the Law, they transmuted the copper deeds of instinctual nature into the pure gold of worship: "They it is whose evil deeds God changes into good deeds."[30] The return of both these groups to their station in the ranks from which they came is by means of wayfaring; it takes place during their lifetime, and by conscious choice. The name "foremost" was given to them because they precede the Companions of the Right and the Companions of the Left who attain their stations only after death. Thus the Prophet, upon whom be peace, said: "Go forth, for the unattached have preceded you."[31]

As for the possessors of the reproachful soul, who are the people of the third rank, the Companions of the Right among them are those whose worship outweighs their sins. They are destined for salvation—"As for him whose balance is heavy, he will be in a life of ease and satisfaction."[32] The Companions of the Left among them are those whose sins outweigh their worship; since they followed their passions in this world, their place shall be the abyss.

When God Almighty created the heart, He placed the intelligence on its right and passion on its left, and love immediately

[29]Qur'an, 21:101.
[30]Qur'an, 25:70.
[31]Tradition quoted on p. 271.
[32]Qur'an, 101:6–7.

in front of it. The Companions of the Right are those who follow intelligence; the Companions of the Left are those who follow passion; and the foremost are those who follow love. Intelligence causes the intelligent to attain the intelligible; passion causes the passionate to attain the abyss;[33] and love causes the lover to attain the beloved. Whoever follows his passion today, in accordance with "as you live, so you shall die; and as you die, so you shall be resurrected,"[34] his place of return tomorrow shall be the abyss. God uses the word *omm* (mother) to designate the abyss, meaning that the abyss shall be like a mother for him. This is an indication that in the hereafter he is still captive in the being of the reproachful soul. The reproachful soul was pregnant in this world with the infant of faith, but failed to give birth to it. If it had done so, the infant would have emerged from the womb of animal and predatory attributes, and the soul would have been saved from the abyss. But since it was pregnant and failed to give birth in this world, it will be conveyed through the lowly degrees of Hell and caused to remain there until all that belongs to the fire—animal, predatory, and satanic attributes—is taken from it. Then the infant of faith, conceived in the womb of the heart, will be born from the mother of the abyss, and the soul will become fit to enter Paradise. For "he in whose heart is an atom's weight of faith shall emerge from the fire."[35]

The possessor of the reproachful soul is like a walnut in that his kernel of faith is hidden within a bitter husk of corrupt deeds. A few blows must be inflicted on that outer husk—for it contains an inner husk—so that the infant of the kernel can be delivered from the womb of the husk. The husk is then fed to the fire: "As often as their skins are roasted, We shall change them for fresh skins, so that they may taste the torment."[36] The kernel is wrapped in the sweet husk of God's favor, placed on

[33]An allusion to Qur'an, 101:9, where the word *hāviya*—apparently derived from the same triliteral root as *havā*, "passion"—is used to designate the abyss; an etymological reflection of the affinity between the passionate and their ultimate destination. In his Qur'anic commentary, Dāya says of the abyss that it is "a fire ardent with the flames of blindness and ignorance, well-stocked with the wood of the soul and its passions" (quoted in Ḥaqqī, *Rūḥ al-bayān*, X, p. 501).

[34]Tradition quoted on p. 334.

[35]Tradition by Bokārī, Moslem, Termeẕī, Nasā'ī, and Ebn Ḥanbal.

[36]Qur'an, 4:55.

the tray of Paradise, and brought to the banquet of "brothers facing each other on thrones."[37] This is a description of that group concerning whom God said: "And there others who are held in suspense for God's command; either He will punish them or turn to them in forgiveness."[38]

If dominical grace and heavenly support come to his aid, and if before death God conveys the breeze of exhalation of His favor to the nostrils of his soul, even for only an instant, so that from his broken heart and weary soul a sigh arises, and he sings these verses in suffering—

> The wind has come with the scent of her tress,
> And renewed our love unaging.
> O wind, thou bearest the scent of friendship;
> Do not frequent strangers, I beg of thee!

then immediately a certain pain will arise in his being, and the fire of regret will consume his harvest of deeds, burning in a single instant that part of him which Hell would otherwise have burned for many years. He will be born from the womb of the mother of passion, who resembles the abyss. Now "regret is repentance,"[39] and his sincere repentance will so purify him in a single instant that it will be as if he had never been polluted by any impurity: "He who repents of his sins is like the one who has never sinned."[40] Since there remains in him no portion for Hell, when he passes by the gate of Hell a cry will arise from within, saying "Pass, O believer! Thy light has extinguished my blaze."

What is indicated here? That in truth hell is within you,[41] and consists of the reprehensible attributes of the commanding soul. When the zephyr breeze of grace wafts over you and the fire of your reprehensible attributes dies down, and the light of repentance—which is derived from the lights of the divine attribute

[37]Qur'an, 15:47.
[38]Qur'an, 9:106.
[39]Tradition recorded by Ebn Māja and Ebn Ḥanbal.
[40]Tradition recorded by Ebn Māja.
[41]This statement is clearly not to be understood in an exclusive and literal sense; it means only that man has within him a substance akin to the stuff of hellfire.

of "oft turning in forgiveness"[42]—establishes itself in your heart, then a cry arises from the lowly degrees of the hell of human existence, saying: "Pass, O repenter! For thou art now beloved of God—'Verily God loves the penitent and loves those who purify themselves.'[43] All eight paradises cannot support those who are beloved of God; how then might the constricted space of Hell, with its seven low degrees, hope to do so?"

Thus this feeble one said:

> All eight paradises are too narrow for Thy lovers;
> All that lies beneath Thee is too shameful for Thy lovers.
> There is a stone placed in the mouth of hellfire
> Because from the ray of the fire comes a colorless light.

It is true that the reproachful soul belongs to the third rank in the world of spirits. But in the assembly of intimacy, the cupbearer of "Their Lord shall give them to drink of a pure wine"[44] once handed, in brimming goblets, the pure wine of effusion of God's generosity to the people of the first rank—the spirits of the prophets and the elect among the saints. As they drank it joyfully, contemplating the beauty of Eternal Besoughtness, a draught of the traces of the wine spilled onto the spirits of the people of the second rank: "The soil has a share in the cup of the generous."[45]

A scent of that draught reached the people of the third rank, and they became drunk from the assault of the wine's scent.

> A scent came to me, and I became drunk on it;
> Should another scent come, I will become lost in it!

[42]This attribute *(tavvāb)* occurs in the Qur'an in conjunction with the attribute "Merciful" *(raḥīm)*, concerning which see pp. 202 and 245. It derives from the verb *tāba*, which has the dual sense of man turning to God in offering repentance, and God turning to man in accepting repentance. The fact that the verb is "shared" by man and God is an indication of God's going forth to meet whoever takes a step toward him (cf. the *ḥadīs qodsī* quoted on p. 222).

[43]Qur'an, 2:222.

[44]Qur'an, 76:21.

[45]An Arabic hemistich of unknown origin that has acquired proverbial status.

When they were joined to this world, still carrying the memory of the scent, they haunted the tavern of the earth, looking for a scent of the scent; hoping to find it, they tasted wine from every vat in the cellar of pleasure and passion. But in none did they find the taste of the scent, and so they repaired to the wine cellar of worship. There a scent came to them, and they said to themselves: "If some trace of the scent is anywhere to be had, it must surely be here." It is this perception of the scent that is called faith.

The light of faith then prevented them from becoming totally drunk on the vat of the world and finding tranquillity in its pleasures and passions, unlike those heedless ones who, lured by worldly adornments, are content with their five days of life in this world and find tranquillity in its transient bounty: "They are content with the life of this world and find tranquillity in it."[46] Sometimes they would drain a cup of the soul's desires, and at other times taste a goblet from the wine cellar of spiritual worship—"They mixed a righteous deed with an evil one."[47]

Whenever the reproachful soul drank a goblet from the cellar of worldly passion, it would don the cuirass of reproach, and the intoxication of the wine it had drunk would make its head too heavy for the affairs of this world. So the soul would turn to the affairs of the hereafter, until God's uncaused grace would arise in utmost solicitude to extend the aid of "Haply God may turn to them in forgiveness."[48] The soul would then place the cash of all life's deeds in the crucible of repentance, melt it on the fire of longing, cast on it a grain of love's alchemy, and transmute it into the pure gold of belovedness: "Verily God loves the penitent and loves those who purify themselves."[49]

> Sorrow, joy becomes through Thy grace;
>   Life, eternal becomes through Thy gaze.
> If the wind bears to Hell the dust of Thy dwelling,
>   The flames will become as the water of life.

[46]Qur'an, 10:7.
[47]Qur'an, 9:102.
[48]Qur'an, 9:102.
[49]Qur'an, 2:222.

At this point the reproachful soul becomes an oath for the Divine Presence—"Verily I swear by the Day of Resurrection, and verily I swear by the reproachful soul."[50]

And God's blessings be upon Moḥammad and his family.

[50]Qur'an, 75:1.

Second Chapter:
Concerning the Return of the Soul That Follows a Middle Path, Which Is the Inspired Soul

God Almighty said: "How disbelieve ye in God, when ye were dead and He gave life to you? Then He gives you death, then life again, and then unto Him ye shall be returned."[1]

The Prophet, upon whom be God's peace and blessings, said: "Die before you die."[2]

Know that the inspired soul is that which has been honored by divine inspirations, and has attained the rank of being an oath by which God swears: "By a soul and Him who ordered it, inspiring it with knowledge of wickedness and piety."[3] The inspired soul is also that which occupied the second rank in the world of spirits, and is mentioned in the Qur'an in second place: "Among them are those oppressive to themselves, those who follow a middle path, and those who are foremost in good deeds."[4]

The name of "following a middle path" is given to this soul because it is intermediate between two worlds. It belongs fully neither to the world of the foremost who occupy the first rank, nor to the world of the oppressive who occupy the third rank. It is the soul of the commonalty among the saints and the elect among the believers. It has gained the honor of divine inspiration by virtue of this aptitude, that in the world of spirits there was interposed between it and the Mighty Presence the medium of the spirits of the prophets and the elect among the saints. When the succor of dominical grace came to the spirits of the people of the first rank, a ray from it touched the people of the second rank. Thus they had some share in the favor, and experi-

[1]Qur'an, 2:28.
[2]Tradition much beloved of the Sufis but of doubtful authenticity; see Forūzānfar, *Aḥādīs̱-e Mas̱navī*, p. 116.
[3]Qur'an, 91:10.
[4]Qur'an, 35:29.

enced the taste of hearing God's address, although from behind the veil. When they were joined to this world, even though they were afflicted with the attributes of the commanding soul, still the taste of God's grace had not left the palate of their soul, and the pleasure of hearing God's address, "am I not your Lord?"[5] lingered in the ear of their heart.

My acquaintance with longing and love's pain is not new—
The tale of your passion is entwined in my entrails.
I shall not forget your love as long as life lasts,
Nor when dead in the shroud with crumbling bones.

Never, O chosen idol of mine,
Shall thy love quit my heart, nor thine image, mine eye.
If after my death thou should come seeking,
Thou will find love for thee still in my rotting bones.

Thus, by virtue of the trace of that ardor that remained in the seed of spirituality, they refrained from giving their hearts to this transient world; turned away from the lowest of the low of instinctual nature to the highest of the high of servitude; and in accordance with "Verily he prospers who purifies it,"[6] they strove to purify their souls. They entrusted the nurturing of the seed of spirituality to the water of righteous deeds performed in obedience to the Law, and its strengthening to the power of the Path. Thus the effect of training appeared in the commanding soul; the light of the Law shone over its darkness, and the seed, which we compared to a date in a previous chapter, bestirred itself and put forth green shoots.

When it is somewhat freed from the fetters and veils of its own existence, and a window in its prison of being is opened a chink onto the broad expanse of the sky of servitude and the station of treehood, it begins to reproach itself for being in the prison of seedhood and says to itself: "Since through nurturing and refinement you can escape from this prison and prosper, why do you think it right to delay? Why do you not gird your waist with the belt of resolve and endeavor? Why are you content like the

[5]Qur'an, 7:171.
[6]Qur'an, 91:10.

vile with this low point?" The soul is then called the reproachful soul, since it has begun to reproach itself in this way.

Then the effect of God's pre-eternal grace will increase by the hour its resolve in the task of servitude and intensify the ardor of its love. Beneath the dominance of ardor, and with the stimulus of joy, it will increase the abundance of its ascetic striving and the excellence of its deeds. From each act that it performs in accordance with God's command a new light will be born that strengthens its faith—"that they might add faith unto their faith."[7]

The tree of servitude becomes more verdant by the day, and advances from the lower world to the world of sublimity, until at last it emerges fully from the seed: "When ye were dead and He gave life to you." First it was a lifeless seed, and then when it put forth a green shoot it was alive—"and He gave life to you." After that, the seed is totally effaced in the tree—"then He gives you death"; and then the seed emerges again from the tree, clothed in the garment of blossom—"then life again."[8] Even though the seed had been effaced in the tree and died, it came back to life once more on the branch, putting forth its head from the grave of the branch, with its shoulders wrapped in the shroud of the blossom.

When tomorrow the saintly from their dwellings of clay
Come to mount, like the spirit, the steed of the body,
Then I too, with bloodstained shroud like the tulip,
Shall arise from the clay near to thy dwelling.

Then shall the soul have returned to its original station, for it will have emerged like blossom on the tree of servitude. But since the fruit has not yet attained perfection, the soul still has one foot in the station of treehood and takes nourishment from it in order to grow further. Its other foot is in the station of fruithood, and there it is exposed to the danger that by virtue of some slight coldness of moist wind the decree "We made it like scattered dust"[9] might be recited over its labors of many years.

[7]Qur'an, 48:4.
[8]Qur'an, 2:28.
[9]Qur'an, 25:23.

At this station, it is fit that the soul should witness its own salubrity and corruption, for it is fearful and trembling. It receives without interruption the succor of dominical inspiration, showing it its piety and wickedness. In this state it is exposed to great danger, for it is sincere—that is, it has been delivered from the prison of the seed and the tree, and emerged on the branch of sincerity: "The sincere are in great danger."[10] Before, when it was fettered in the tree or imprisoned in the seed, it was not exposed to the danger of destruction by the least wind or cold weather.

> We are not a lock of thy hair that each breeze
> Should drive us away from thy face, away from thy face!

But now that the soul has been born from the womb of the tree and wrapped in the delicate swaddling clothes of the blossom, it is like a newly born infant, liable to perish from the slightest injury. If the state of the soul is not carefully watched in this station, having now tasted divine inspiriation and become acquainted with the world of the unseen, it is exposed to the danger of falling, like Balaam,[11] from the tree of servitude on account of the wind of satanic whispering or the coldness of its own arrogance.

The Glorious Presence has sworn eleven oaths to emphasize this danger and prevent the wayfarer from being negligent. He has said that if the soul is nurtured at this station, it will prosper—that is, from the blossom of inspiration it will grow into the fruit of tranquillity.[12] But if it is deprived of cultivation, it will be afflicted with loss—that is, it will wither while yet a blossom, and perish. Thus God said: "By the sun and its brightness; by the moon when it follows it; by the day when it reveals it; by the night when it enshrouds it; by the heaven and Him Who built it; by the earth and Him Who spread it; by a soul and Him Who ordered it, inspiring it with knowledge of wickedness and piety

[10]Fragment of a Tradition previously quoted on p. 97.

[11]Balaam: a prophet who renounced his mission and to whom some commentators have seen a reference in Qur'an, 7:176.

[12]Tranquillity: *(moṭma'ennagī):* the state of the "tranquil soul" *(nafs-e moṭma'enna),* as described in the next chapter.

—verily he prospers who refines it, and he fails who corrupts it."[13] Nowhere else in the Qur'an have so many oaths been sworn as here.

The reason is that nothing in all creation is nobler than the soul of man, and that the delicacy of the soul and the danger to which it is exposed in the station of inspiration are unique to that station. For while not yet fully delivered from itself, it has had a taste of the unseen and of inspiration, and it may thus be deceived into imagining that it has attained the station of perfection. Falling prey to Satan's wiles and whisperings, it may gaze upon itself with the eye of arrogance, complacency, pride, and self-approval, and becoming the Eblīs of the age, be swept down like blossom by the hurricane of anathema from the tree of acceptance to the dust of abasement.

The soul is first born as blossom from the seed, and then imprisoned for a time in the tree, before being born from it anew and appearing on the branch of creation, there to taste divine inspiration. In the station it then attains it must be born again, from the blossom, in order to become fruit. Then it must reach maturity as fruit, and in so doing it will finally have attained the perfection of this station, for each of the stations of the soul has a beginning and an end.

In the station of inspiration, the soul's beginning is that it tastes inspiration by God with knowledge of every form of wickedness and piety that it might encounter. Thus it distinguishes the true from the false and separates the false from the true, following the true and avoiding the false. The Prophet, upon whom be peace, used to pray in this station: "God, show us the true to be true, and grant that we may follow it; and show us the false to be false, and grant that we may shun it."[14] At the beginning of the station comes the perception and distinction of the true and the false, and at its end the acquisition, through God's gift, of the power to abandon the false and follow the true. This becomes attainable when the soul is dead to reprehensible

[13]Qur'an, 91:1–9.
[14]Prayer of the Prophet recorded by Bokāri and Moslem.

attributes and the heart is alive with praiseworthy attributes. Hence, "die before you die."[15]

Music becomes licit for the sincere *morīd* in this station for several reasons. First, since his soul has died to reprehensible attributes, its funeral must be celebrated with music. It is for this reason that when a cherished one dies among the Sufis, they celebrate his funeral with music.[16] Second, the heart has contracted a marriage with truths from the unseen, and wedded itself to praiseworthy attributes. To announce a marriage with music is a Sunna, since the Prophet, upon whom be peace, said: "Announce marriages, even if with a tambourine."[17] Third, the soul has acquired an eye for seeing the truth and an ear for hearing it, and it has tasted inspiration from the unseen. From all that is analogous to inspiration it derives the same taste, and it is stirred by it in the direction of God. Thus God said: "Those who listen to the word and follow the best of it."[18] Every word the soul hears from the singer, clothed in fine garment and measured rhythm, imparts to it the taste of the address of "am I not your Lord?"[19] and the pleasant sound causes yearning for God to stir within the soul. For it is not less than the camel, in which the cry *ḥodā!*[20] arouses longing for its familiar homeland and accustomed pasture.

I yearn, and the lean camels in the flatland yearn,
When you recall their homelands in the hills of Najd.
They long for the myrtle and oxeye of their pasture—
What might you know of oxeye or myrtle?

On hearing the measured rhythm, the bird of spirituality aspires to return to its true nest and original abode. When it attempts to take wing, it is held down by the cage of the bodily frame, in which it lies bound in the fetters of the five senses. Yet

[15]Tradition previously quoted at the beginning of this chapter.
[16]The converse is also true: Not only does the soul of the Sufi "die" during the dance, but physical death may also supervene, so that there is a double relationship between music and death. See Molé, "La danse extatique en Islam," p. 187.
[17]Tradition recorded by Ebn Ḥanbal and Termeẕī.
[18]Qur'an, 39:18.
[19]Qur'an, 7:171.
[20]*Ḥodā:* Arabic utterance used to set camels in motion.

once it has tasted the joy of divine address, the bird of the spirit will not rest, and in its distraction it will try to break the cage of the bodily frame and return to its own realm.

> That fettered nightingale whose name is the soul
> Has not the strength to shatter its cage.

The cage of the bodily frame will in turn become distraught, and its distraction expresses itself in dancing and ecstatic states.

> Dancing is not thy habitual rising;
> Unless there be pain, thou rise like dust.
> Dancing is thy rising over both worlds,
> Tearing thy heart, and rising over thy soul.

When the *morīd* practiced in self-mortification comes to this station and state, it is permissible for him occasionally to attend sessions with flute and tambourine, on condition that he be in the presence of his shaikh or in the company of a group of his friends afflicted with the same painful longing. He should shun the company of strangers as far as possible, except for those who attend the session because of ardent desire and belief in its efficacy, and whose company is marked by courtesy and respect.

The *morīd* must not make any motion during the music with conscious effort, and the attention of his heart should be directed to the meaning of the verses that are sung and the indications of the flute's melody. He should not begin moving on account of every divine intimation that comes to his heart or every ecstatic state that is granted him; rather, he should contain the effect of the music within his heart as far as possible. But if it overpowers him and causes him to move without conscious choice, then movement is permissible. It is also considered permissible to join one's companions in the expression of ecstasy, providing that all laxity of the soul be excluded. There are numerous customs connected with musical sessions for which there is no space here. But we will mention this, that the *morīd* should treat his companions with the utmost respect so that no heart is offended by him. Further, he should not engage in music for the sake of pleasure, and he should strive to conceal the truths that

come to him and abandon all pretension. In all events, he should wait for divine inspiration so that what he does he does in the light of inspiration, not in the darkness of instinctual nature. At the beginning of this station, he will distinguish between the soundness and corruption of his soul by means of divine inspiration, and in the middle of it, by means of divine indication.

The difference between divine inspiration, indication, and speech is this: inspiration is an address by God to the heart, perceived intuitively[21] and without awareness; indication is an address perceived intuitively and with awareness, and it comes in the form of an allegory, not explicitly; speech is an explicit address, perceived intuitively and with awareness. The soul does not experience speech in the station of inspiration, but only in that of tranquillity: "O tranquil soul, return to thy Lord"[22] is an explicit address.

The end of the station of inspiration consists of God's light establishing itself in the heart, so that whatever man looks upon he looks upon with God's light: "The believer gazes with God's light."[23] The soul's degree is that of the elect among the believers from the time that inspiration appears until the time that God's light establishes itself in the heart. Its degree then becomes that of the commonalty among the saints: "God is the friend of those who believe; He brings them forth from darkness into light."[24] When the soul attains this station, the return of this group, "those who follow a middle path,"[25] will have been completed.

In the world of spirits, they were the people of the second rank, and received the lights of God's favor and grace from behind the veil constituted by the first rank—the prophets and the elect among the saints. In this world, then, each of the people of the second rank, in accordance with the degree to which he was touched by the light of God's grace, will be enabled to seek, strive, and endeavor to follow the prophets and the saints. As

[21]Intuitively *(bā ẕowq)*: literally, "with taste," i.e., with the same immediacy and vividness of perception that is characteristic of the faculty of taste.
[22]Qur'an, 89:28.
[23]Tradition previously quoted on p. 86.
[24]Qur'an, 2:257.
[25]Qur'an, 35:32.

there was difference among the spirits in each rank with respect to nearness and remoteness and being on the right or the left, so too a trace of that difference becomes apparent in the seeking, striving, and endeavoring of each person. It also affects his finding or not finding.

As each spirit in the second rank found itself facing a spirit in the first rank—the rank of the spirits of the prophets and the elect among the saints—so too in this world each person will have more devotion and love for a certain prophet or saint than the others. Thus the Prophet, upon whom be peace, said: "Spirits are like armies drawn up: those that are familiar to each other join together; and those that are unknown to each other diverge."[26] Those who form acquaintance with each other in that world and faced each other or were near to each other will be correspondingly linked in this world by acquaintance, familiarity, and affection. If the prophetic or saintly acquaintance from the other world is not encountered in his physical form, it is possible to see him in a dream or vision and thus gain succor from him.

In the previous chapter, we compared the seed of the spirits of this group, the people of the second rank, to the fruit of the date. Even though the date is tasty and sweet, only its skin is so; the kernel is of no benefit. This is an indication that even though the place of return of this group is the highest of the high that is Paradise, and the proximity and closeness of the prophets and the elect among the saints ("They it is who are in the company of those to whom God has given His bounty—the prophets, the sincere devotees, the witnesses and the righteous. How fair is their fellowship!")[27] they are only with them, and not of them, in the station of immediate proximity—"in a seat of sincerity, in the presence of a powerful King."[28]

The Prophet, upon whom be peace, established the honor of

[26]Tradition already quoted in part on p. 220.
[27]Qur'an, 4:69.
[28]Qur'an, 54:55.

companionship for all *morīds* and lovers[29] when he said, "Man is with those whom he loves."[30] But the high fortune of belonging in unique fashion to the Prophet's family went to Salmān, that one burned by love—"Salmān is one of us, a member of my house."[31] The description of this station and its people will come in the next chapter, God Willing.

God's blessings be upon Moḥammad and his family.

[29]"Lovers" *(moḥebbān):* in addition to the general sense of the word, Dāya probably also intends the technical meaning it had for certain Sufi orders: those who had an affiliation and loyalty to the order, without renouncing their normal mode of life to participate fully in the devotional activity of the Sufi hospice. See Abdülbâkî Gölpinarli, *Mevlevî Ādâb ve Erkâni* (Istanbul, 1963), p. 28.

[30]Tradition previously quoted on p. 338.

[31]Tradition recorded in Ebn Hešām, *al-Sīrat al-nabawīya,* I, p. 222. Salmān, the Persian companion of the Prophet, is a figure of intense interest to various currents of Islam, both Sunni and Shi'ite. Sufis regard him as being one of the "proto-Sufis," the transmitters of esoteric knowledge from the Prophet, and he appears in the spiritual genealogy of the Naqšbandī order. For a comprehensive account of his posthumous career, see Louis Massignon, "Salman Pak et les prémices spirituelles de l'Islam iranien," in *Parole Donnée,* ed. Vincent Monteil (Paris, 1962), pp. 91-128.

Third Chapter:
Concerning the Return of the Foremost Soul Which Is the Tranquil Soul

God Almighty said: "O tranquil soul, return to thy Lord, well-pleased and well-pleasing."[1]

The Prophet, upon whom be God's peace and blessings, said: "A rapturous state bestowed by God is equal to the deeds of men and jinn."[2]

Know that the tranquil soul is the soul of the prophets and the elect among the saints, who were in the first rank in the world of spirits. Each soul from among the prophets and saints has, however, a different degree of tranquillity, since each rank contains Companions of the Right, Companions of the Left, and the foremost, as was previously explained.

Know in truth that from the station of the commanding soul it is possible to advance to the station of the tranquil soul only through the effect of the rapturous states bestowed by God and the elixir of the Law. Thus God said: "Verily the soul commands unto evil, except my Lord be merciful."[3]

In the beginning, every soul has the attribute of commandingness,[4] even if it be the soul of a prophet or saint, until trained by the Law it reaches the station of tranquillity, which is the utmost that the human essence is able to attain, and thus becomes fit to hear the summons, "return!"

The spirit was taken in the beginning from the world of spirits and joined to the world of bodies, being carried through the different realms of Kingship and Dominion. Passing through the firmaments, the planets, and the elements, it left behind the

[1]Qur'an, 89:28.

[2]Utterance previously quoted on p. 222 without attribution to the Prophet. Concerning its possible source, see p. 222, n. 15.

[3]Qur'an, 12:53.

[4]Commandingness *(ammāragī):* i.e., the state wherein the soul imperiously commands the commission of evil deeds, as indicated in Qur'an, 12:53.

vegetable and animal realms and arrived at the human state, which is the lowest of the low among all beings. This was described previously, and is indicated in the verse "Then We caused him to descend to the lowest of the low."[5] Through the light of faith and righteous deeds, man then directs himself again to the highest—"except those who believe and do righteous deeds."[6]

Until he perceives the summons "return!" it is, however, impossible for the light of faith to appear in him so that he may engage in righteous deeds. But the soul, equipped only with sense perception, has no awareness for recognizing the summons. There therefore, comes to the mystery[7] of the spirit a secret clothed in the garb of rapturous state. It causes the soul to avert itself from the attribute of commandingness and brings it to accept faith and act in accordance with Law. So too the address of "O fire, be cold and peaceful"[8] came to the mystery of the fire, and without the fire being aware, the address averted it from the attribute of burning and made it attain the attribute "cold and peaceful."

From the time that the soul, through the effect of the summons "return!" turns away from the lowest point that is instinctual nature and commandingness, it is engaged in advance to the point of return, until ultimately it reaches the perfection of degree of its unique return—"enter among My bondsmen and enter My garden."[9] This garden, which has been honored by God with the possessive "My," is superior to all other gardens in the same way that the Ka'ba, similarly honored with the possessive "My," ("My house") is superior to all other mosques. This is a great mystery, not accessible to every understanding, and the indication it contains cannot be explained in mere words.

[5]Qur'an, 105:5.
[6]Qur'an, 105:6.
[7]Concerning the "mystery" *(serr)* as one of the inner means of perception, see p. 134, n. 9. Insofar as the mystery is presented here as a part of the spirit instead of an autonomous entity, it appears to signify the center or core of the spirit.
[8]Qur'an, 21:69.
[9]Qur'an, 89:30.

The soul has been given the name "commanding" in the sense that it is the commander of the bodily frame. The word *ammāra* (commanding) is an emphatic form, deriving from both *amīr* (commander) and *āmer* (commanding). That is to say, the soul gives commands and has command. It gives commands that instinctual nature be obeyed and God's law be opposed, and it has command over all the limbs and members, so that they act in accordance with instinctual nature and the command of the soul. Until the soul bows its head to God's command and submits to the Law, it will not escape the attribute of commanding, for the attributes of commanding and commanded are the opposite of each other. As long as the soul is commanding, it cannot be commanded; and once it has become commanded, it will have been delivered from the attribute of commanding.

It is here that the philosophers have fallen into gross error. They have imagined that the commandingness of the soul derives from its reprehensible animal attributes, and have therefore exerted themselves in the refinement of morals and the transformation of attributes, hoping that once the reprehensible attributes of the soul have been transformed into praiseworthy attributes, it will advance from the station of commandingness to that of tranquillity. They were unaware that the attribute of commandingness could not be removed by such efforts alone, but only by submission to the command of the Law. They imagined that the Law was needed only for the refinement of morals and therefore said: "Since we obtain the refinement of morals through the gaze of the intellect, what need do we have of the Law and the prophets?"

By means of this error Satan carried them off to Hell, for they did not have the light of true faith to perceive that it is impossible to emerge from the veil of instinctual nature by means of that same instinctual nature. If someone should mortify his soul in accordance with his intellect for a thousand years, so that a thousand different kinds of purity, vision, and clarity appeared in his soul, and some of the veils deriving from human attribute were lifted—still all this would make heavier the veils of instinctual nature and increase the true darkness and blindness of the soul. For previously when he had no purity or vision he sought it,

knowing that he was in darkness and blindness; but now, fortified by the trace of purity and vision he has experienced in his soul, he imagines it to be true purity and vision and ceases his search. This imagining becomes the most formidable of all veils and increases true blindness. This can be understood only by a heart strengthened with divine support, when the eye of the mystery is given vision from God's light: "The believer gazes with the light of God."[10]

Know in truth that one can escape the nadir of instinctual nature only by the lasso of the Law, for the Law has a property of rapture inherent within it; and while nature is darkness the Law is light, and one escapes darkness through light, for it has been said that "Things are made apparent by their opposites."

Whoever is not delivered from the abyss of commandingness by the light of the Law, which is the form assumed by God's rapture and the innermost essence of His mercy, cannot be saved by anything else—"except my Lord be merciful."[11] The Prophet, upon whom be peace, despite his perfection of degree as prophet and messenger, was told: "Truly thou guidest not whom thou desirest." That is, "thou canst deliver none from the pit of nature by thine own nature. Rather, God guides whom He wills."[12] That is, "The light of Our guidance, which is the essence of rapture, is needed to carry off through grace the people of nature from their nadir, and to convey them to the exaltedness of nearness—'return to thy Lord.'"[13]

When the soul in this state is to be conveyed by the rapturous effect of that summons to its place of return and reversion, it must traverse and revisit all the different realms through which it first passed.

The wisdom implicit in this coming and returning is that the soul contemplates the three hundred and sixty realms of God, takes hold of the treasure that is stored in each world, and learns

[10]Part of the Tradition previously quoted in full on p. 86.
[11]Qur'an, 12:53.
[12]Qur'an, 28:56.
[13]Qur'an, 89:28.

the secret that is deposited there—"and He taught Adam the names, all of them."[14]

For in the beginning the spirit had knowledge of universals and not of particulars; it had knowledge of the world of the unseen and not of the manifest world. When it was joined to this world and duly trained and nurtured, it acquired knowledge of both universals and particulars, and became "knower of the unseen and manifest"[15] as God's viceregent. In the world of spirits, it had not had the strength or instruments required for the tasks of dominical viceregency; it was in this world that it acquired the necessary strength and instruments, and thus attained the perfection of degree of viceregency.

When in the beginning the spirit traversed these different realms, it borrowed something from each, leaving a pledge behind in exchange. On its return, it is not permitted to pass until it has returned the loan at each station and reclaimed its pledge.

> If thou would escape from this cage,
> Return the loan of the seven, the five, and the four.[16]

It is necessary first to step outside the station of clay, which is the last stage of this world traversed by the spirit when it is attached to this world, and the first stage of the hereafter when it returns. It is for this reason that when someone is buried it is said: "This is the last of the stages of this world, and the first of the stages of the hereafter."

As for the dead, they are taken without any choice. But the one who departs while still alive is he who of himself steps out of the attributes of clay, not out of the form of clay. The attributes of clay are darkness, impurity, density, and weight. The

[14]Qur'an, 2:31.
[15]"Knower of the unseen and the manifest" is in the first instance a divine attribute, mentioned ten times in the Qur'an; man as the viceregent acquires it by way of imitation.
[16]A line from Sanā'ī (*Dīvān*, p. 182). By "seven" either the seven heavens or the seven layers of the earth are intended; by five are meant the five senses; and four alludes to the four qualities of hot, cold, dry, and wet (compared by Rūmī to a crucifix to which man is nailed; see *Fīhe mā fīh*, p. 195).

properties of darkness are ignorance and blindness; from the properties of impurity arise attachment to objects and dependence and reliance upon them, and also dispersion; from the properties of density arise lack of mercy and kindliness, and hardheartedness; and from the properties of weight arise abjectness of nature, ignominy, vileness, lowliness, lack of aspiration, degradation, apathy, and heaviness of disposition.

The wayfarer has borrowed all these reprehensible attributes from clay, leaving there as pledge the attributes of generosity, manliness, chivalry, loftiness of aspiration, pity, mercy, kindliness, knowledge, certainty, purity, truthfulness, concentration, delicacy and lightness of disposition, and luminosity. Thus he cannot pass beyond the station of clay until he has restored the reprehensible attributes, nor can he proceed to his proper realm until he reclaims and takes with him those other attributes he brought to this station and left there as pledge.

Similarly, he borrowed other reprehensible attributes from the remaining three elements—water, fire, and wind—leaving a praiseworthy attribute as pledge for each of them. The same is true for the firmaments and planets and all the realms he traversed.

When the wayfarer has restored all his loans and reclaimed all his pledges and returned to his original home, he is appointed to the kingship of viceregency. Equipped with the cloak of honor of deputyhood and the charter of mastery, he is made king over all the realms of the unseen and manifest worlds, and the reins of kingship are entrusted to the hands of his rule: "Say, O God, possessor of kingship! Thou give kingship to whom Thou wish, and Thou take kingship from whom Thou wish."[17]

Once he has become king over all realms, whatever he had previously borrowed and then been obliged to return becomes his property, and he disposes of it as its rightful owner. As deputy and viceregent of God, he sets all the realms of the unseen and manifest worlds to work in servitude, and brings them to confess the truth at the threshold of the assertion of His unity.

[17]Qur'an, 3:26.

Put a ring in the ear of the heavens and planets,
So they acknowledge their servitude to thee.
All creation is largesse scattered over thee;
Do not, like the lowly, gather up scattered largesse.

When he becomes the intimate of God, and experiences again the taste of proximity and the dignity of viceregency, he says—

A lightning flash, appearing over Sanaa,
Tells me of the graveyard and its nearness.
Yet I am not content with the plain as my homeland,
For I see my abode to be above the pole stars.
How should I be a slave to the worms,
When the four elements are my handmaidens?

Those who travel this path are of two kinds: the wayfarers and those whom God draws to Himself. The latter are those who are drawn by the lasso of rapturous states and caused to traverse swiftly the different stations of the path, impelled by the dominance of ardor.[18] They receive little awareness of the states of the path or knowledge of its stations, nor have they any great share in the unveiling of the dangers of the path, and the good and the evil, the benefit and the harm, that are to be had on the path. They are therefore not suitable to act as shaikh and exemplar.

The wayfarer is he who, although drawn by the lasso of rapturous states, is caused tranquilly and gradually to traverse each station with the utmost thoroughness and care, with the states of good and evil, soundness and corruption, that are attendant on the path all displayed to him. He is sometimes advanced on the path, and sometimes diverted from it, so that he will be fully aware both of the path and of diversion, and thus be fit to guide and lead others.

Although the science of knowing this path is without limit and its stations are innumerable, we will set forth a specimen and indication of what is displayed in visions to the wayfarer at each station, so that our account may serve as a guide, a touch-

[18]Ardor *(šowq):* "the need of the heart for meeting with its beloved" (Jorjānī, *Ketāb al-ta'rīfāt,* p. 135).

stone, and a model for the knowledge of the path and its signs and wayposts.

When in the beginning the wayfarer traverses the station of the attributes of clay, he sees himself in visions emerging from slopes, alleys, pits, and dark places, and passing by ruins, derelict places, mounds, and mountains. Heaviness and density disappear, and lightness and subtlety appear within him.

When in the second stage he traverses the attributes of water, he sees himself passing through verdure, meadows, trees, fields, flowing water, springs, ponds, seas, and the like.

When in the third stage he traverses the attributes of air, he sees himself walking on air, flying, running, walking on the heights, crossing valleys in flight, and so forth.

When in the fourth stage he traverses the attributes of fire, he sees lamps, candles, torches, flashes of lightning, tinder, flames, fields and valleys filled with fire, and the like.

When in the fifth stage he traverses the attributes of the firmaments and the heavenly bodies, he sees himself walking and flying in the air, ascending from one heaven to the next, rotating the firmament and the heavens, and so forth.

When in the sixth stage he traverses the *malakūt* of the planets and the stars, he sees the stars, the moon, the sun, lights, and things resembling these.

When in the seventh stage he traverses the animal attributes, whatever attribute he is to pass through, bestial or predatory, appears to him in the form of some suitable animal. If he sees himself dominant and victorious over the animal, it is a sign of his traversing the attribute and gaining victory over it; if he sees himself a captive to the animal or afraid of it, it is a sign of the victory or dominance of the attribute over his soul.[19]

All these degrees relate merely to one of the different realms

[19]Cf. p. 291.

that have been mentioned. The wayfarer must pass through all the remaining several thousand realms, and in each appropriate witnessings and visions will appear to him. It sometimes happens that a single kind of vision is seen at several stations; in each case, it bears a different significance appropriate to the station.

Not everyone can perceive these differences and variations; they can be distinguished only by the perfect shaikh. Since the wayfarer is not versed in visions, he is hampered by them and unable to proceed on the path. This is one of the reasons for the need of a shaikh.

For example, fire is to be seen at several stations, and it has a different meaning at each. Sometimes it may be a sign of traversing an attribute of fire; sometimes it may be a sign of the ardor of the quest; sometimes it may be a sign of the dominance of the attribute of anger; sometimes it may be a sign of the dominance of the attribute of devilry; sometimes it may be the light of *ẕekr,* appearing in igneous form; sometimes it may be the fire of longing that effaces all human attributes; sometimes it may be the fire of wrath; and sometimes it may be the fire of guidance, as it was with Moses, upon whom be peace—"He perceived a fire from the side of the mountain."[20] Sometimes it may be the fire of love that burns all other than God; sometimes it may be the fire of gnosis—"Though the fire has not touched it, light upon light. God guides to His light whom He wills";[21] sometimes it may be the fire of sainthood—"God is the protector of those who believe; He brings them forth from darkness into light";[22] sometimes it may be the fire of witnessing—"Blessed is he who is in the fire and he who stands near to it."[23] There are also other types of fire which only an experienced shaikh can distinguish. Other visions and the differences between them may be deduced by analogy from the foregoing.

When human souls begin to traverse these stations, each soul

[20]Qur'an, 28:29.
[21]Qur'an, 24:35.
[22]Qur'an, 2:257.
[23]Qur'an, 27:8.

reaches the station for which it is fitted by virtue of capacity and the dominical support that it receives, and attains the degree for which it was suited in the world of spirits—reproachfulness, inspiration, or tranquillity. Becoming tied to its station, it says: "None among us but with a fixed station"[24] and exclaims, "Were I to draw nearer by the length of a finger, I would be burned."[25]

For the summit of Mount Qāf is not the station for every bird; for that, a Sīmorḡ[26] is needed. Nor can every bird make its nest on top of the candle; for that, a crazed moth is needed. Nor is every carrion crow fit for the king's arm; for that, a white falcon is needed.

> If you pollute your wings with carrion like the crow,
> How can you be worthy of the king like the falcon?
> If you are but food for the hawk like the sparrow,
> How can you perch on the king's arm like the hawk?

Even though the peacock has beauty to perfection, the nightingale a thousand different melodies, and the parrot a human tongue, they are suited only to be gazed on in pleasure. When life must be sacrificed to the beauty of the flame, it is only the crazed moth that is fit for the task; the intelligent are fit only to watch.

> Enter not the trap—thou art not bird for this seed.
> Reach not for the candle—thou art not a moth.
> Crazed is he who goes seeking us;
> Seek us then not—thou art not crazed.

O soul, O world! Those who were created to be companions in the assembly of intimacy and attendants in the station of proximity, who are the people of attainment and union, the possessors of grace and favor—in this world they are hidden beneath the domes of God's jealous pride: "My saints are beneath My domes; none knows them but I."[27] They are perplexed

[24]Qur'an, 37:164.
[25]Utterance of Gabriel during the Prophet's ascension. See p. 84, n. 32.
[26]Concerning Mount Qāf and the Sīmorḡ, see p. 141, n. 30.
[27]*Ḥadīs̱ qodsī* previously quoted on p. 235.

in state and distraught in speech, exceedingly indigent, empty-handed and powerless. It is to them that the words "many a dusty and disheveled one clad in rags"[28] refer:

They it is who have taken hold of my heart,
  They whose locks are disheveled.

The promise "those patient in their poverty shall sit with God on the Day of Resurrection"[29] is addressed to them, for their hearts are distraught.

Was ever a heart more distraught than this,
  Or a vision more disordered than this?
Whoever saw in the world a wanderer
  Afflicted and luckless, more bewildered than this?

They are those who have been brought forth by the lasso of divine rapture from their they-ness, to whose palate all the pleasures and passions of the soul, all the caprices and desires of humanity, have been made bitter, and who have been given to drink at another source.

We who are fed by the hand of the spirit,
  Why should we eat the salt-meat of spiders?

Their hearts gain no tranquillity from all that lies between east and west, nor from all that the two worlds contain, but only from the remembrance of God's favor—"Only in the remembrance of God do hearts attain tranquillity."[30] Has it not been said that the languor of drunkenness can be cured only by wine? Their heads are still giddy from tasting the wine of the address of "am I not your Lord?"[31] and they have recited to all beings the verse, "say *ALLĀH,* then leave them."[32]

[28]Part of a *ḥadīṣ qodsī,* the remainder of which reads: "if he were to swear in My name, I would respond to him."

[29]Tradition reported with a different wording by Ja'far b. Moḥammad al-'Alavī.

[30]Qur'an, 13:28.

[31]Qur'an, 7:171.

[32]Qur'an, 6:91.

We are still drunk on the wine of *alast*,[33]
Intoxicated by the pact of *alast.*
With prayer rug, scripture, and litany in the cell,
We are still drinkers of dregs, reckless worshippers of wine!

Their station is continually in the tavern of being, and their goblet is ceaselessly filled to the brim with the wine of witnessing. The bounty of all eight paradises is not worthy to be served as a morsel at the assembly of those tavern frequenters, for it was made to be plenteous fodder in the stable of the inspired and reproachful souls—"Ye shall have there all that the souls desire and all that delights the eyes."[34] None of it bestows tranquillity upon the tranquil soul, and there is sent to it instead, from the banquet of "I sleep in the presence of my Lord, Who feeds me and gives me to drink,"[35] the viand of "return to thy Lord."[36]

A falcon fit for the arm of a king
Never sullies its beak with carrion.
Set free from self, it sits on the king's arm,
Waiting on every command that he issues.

No, No! What place is there for words such as these? "Those to whom the good has gone forth from us, they are far removed therefrom."[37] His birds do not condescend to accept the degree of falconhood, counting that station a mere game. Even though the falcon be pure white, how might it resemble the life-sacrificing moth? The falcon hunts down the life of its prey; what concern does the moth have with life? The falcon is a hunter from whom no prey escapes with its life; the moth is a lover who escaping his life wins the prize of the beloved.

Gabriel and Michael were the white falcons in the hunting grounds of the realm of Dominion, hunting the birds of glorifi-

[33]*Alasto:* "am I not (your Lord)?" (Qur'an, 7:171), the words that inaugurated the primordial covenant. See p. 35, n. 7.

[34]Qur'an, 43:71.

[35]Tradition previously quoted on p. 222.

[36]Qur'an, 89:28.

[37]Qur'an, 21:101.

cation and exaltation: "We proclaim Thy praise and sanctify Thee."[38] But when in their hunting they came upon the attributes of the beauty and splendor of Eternal Besoughtness,[39] they drew in their wings and pinions and abandoned prey and the hunt: "Were I to approach by a finger's length, I would burn."[40]

When the bird flew there, it laid down its wing;
When the demon reached there, it laid down its head.

God then said to them: "In the hunting grounds of pre-eternity We have snared a hunter in the trap of 'He shall love them';[41] and We will now bring him to this trapping place—'truly I am about to appoint a viceregent on earth'[42]—so that he can show you the true way to hunt."

I shall dive in the deep sea—
Either drown, or bring forth a pearl.
Thou would cast me in danger—I accept,
And shall end with a face or neck reddened by thee.[43]

They all said: "If this hunter should excel us in hunting, and snatch up from the field the ball of primacy with the stick of true meaning; if he should do that which we cannot do, and catch a prey that eludes us—then we will gird the loins of our soul to serve him, and consent with heart and soul to fall prostrate before him."

From the Glorious Presence came an address, saying: "Beware! If you see him fitted with the small, feeble wings of 'man was created weak,'[44] do not look upon him with the eye of disdain, for if you do, you will have disapproved of My creation. Do not be proud on account of your own angelic wings, for in truth

[38]Qur'an, 2:30.
[39]Eternal Besoughtness *(ṣamadīyat)*: see p. 217, n. 70.
[40]See n. 25 above.
[41]Qur'an, 5:54.
[42]Qur'an, 2:30.
[43]A quatrain of Majd al-Dīn Bağdādī, composed by him in evident anticipation of his martyrdom. See Jāmī, *Nafaḥāt al-ons*, p. 426, and Bertel's, "Chetverostishiya Sheikha Madhzhd ad-Dina Bagdadi," p. 337.
[44]Qur'an, 4:27.

We are his wings, and only We are fitted to be his wings. 'We have carried them on land and on sea.'[45] He flies toward Us, hence it is with Our wings that he flies."

> Only Thy hand can run through Thy tress;
>   Only Thy foot can hasten toward Thee.
> My eye has ceased to covet Thy face,
>   For only Thine eye can look on Thy face.

"Whoever flies toward Our presence is of necessity flying with Our wings; see then what prey he captures when he opens his wings!"

> When the gnat flies in the court of Thy dwelling,
>   It captures a prey the falcon cannot.

When the tranquil soul—the soul of the foremost, "those who are foremost in good deeds"—[46] was dispatched to fly off and hunt with the order "return!" and sent to seek its prey throughout all creation, it did not find a single gazelle in the area of all seven climes worthy of its claws, nor a single dove in the air of all eight paradises fit for its beak. Thus this feeble one says—

> I was a falcon flown down from on high
>   To snatch some prey up to the heavens.
> Yet none did I find here to share in the secret
>   And I left once more by the door that I came.

Like a crazed moth it passed by everything, and set its face to the prey of union with the candle of His splendor; disdaining its figurative being, it tired of its existence, and despaired of its soul.

> Each moment I tire anew of my being,
>   And long anew for union with that beauty.
> When the moth of my heart sees the candle of thy face,
>   It disdains both worlds in its madness.

[45]Qur'an, 17:80.
[46]Qur'an, 35:32.

When the moth disdains its own head, then surely
It deserves a thousand favors of the candle.
First the moth places its soul in the palm of its hand,
And then sets forth to embrace the candle.

Heedless it continued on its way, passing beyond the seven heavens and eight paradises. All the sublime host placed the finger of astonishment in the mouth of amazement, and wondered what bird this was that, for all its feebleness, was so demanding and harsh to itself: "Truly he was extremely oppressive, extremely ignorant."[47] It was as if he was saying to them: "I am that bird that had not yet flown from the threshold of the nest of the divine inhalation, nor become prisoner in the cage of the bodily frame, when you loosed upon it, from the bow of reproach, the arrows of 'wilt Thou appoint there one who shall cause corruption and bloodshed?' You took pride in your hunting—'and we proclaim Thy praise'[48]—and knew not that

On the battlements of His magnificence are birds
Whose prey is angels, who hunt prophets, who capture
God the Glorious.

"Now behold my hunting, watch the corruption and bloodshed that I cause! I shed blood, but from the throat of my own being, on the threshold of God's might; I cause corruption, but through overthrowing my being and sacrificing my soul to the Beauteous Presence."

The day that Thou stitched the cloak of my being,
They said in objection, the people of being,
"Why make Thou a shedder of blood?" Know well,
Indeed I shed blood, but from the throat of being.

He flew on swift-paced, finally reaching the frontier of placelessness. The sublime host said: "He is a creature of place; he cannot travel in placelessness. Inevitably his head will collide with the wall of helplessness." The Mighty Presence then addressed their mystery saying: "Did I not tell you that 'verily I

[47]Qur'an, 33:72.
[48]Qur'an, 2:30.

know that which ye know not'?[49] Do you still unsheathe the sword of denial, and refuse to drop the shield in helplessness?"

Why dost thou deny the state of the heartburned?
Not all lack that which thou lack.

That moth, ready to sacrifice its own soul and overthrow its own being, said: "Do not blame them, for the ignorant are excused."

We are not shamed by reproach for thy love,
We have no quarrel with the ignorant of love.
This drink of loverhood is given only to men;
The unmanly have no share in the goblet of love.

They did not know what the customs were of that *qalandar*-like moth.[50]

The ways of the *qalandar* and the customs of gambling
I first brought to this city, fair friend!

When the moth reached the environs of the pavilion of the rays of the candle of Splendor, a flame was sent forth to meet it as chamberlain. When the moth saw the chamberlain, it lost all awareness of self and threw its arms around the neck of the chamberlain. When it looked again, it saw that it had lost its wings. Since it had now lost its transient and figurative wings, in accordance with the rule that "whoever cometh with a good deed shall receive ten times as much,"[51] the chamberlain of the flame, acting as the tongue of the candle, bestowed upon it true and abiding wings from that tongue. Thus he became able to fly in the broad sky of the ipseity of the candle, and from the bird of duality shed the blood of otherness on the threshold of unity. Causing its own being to perish, the moth then fled from its own being to the being of the candle—"Flee then to God."[52] It took flight from itself and sought refuge in the candle. It became

[49]Qur'an, 2:30.
[50]*Qalandar:* see p. 100, n. 19.
[51]Qur'an, 6:160.
[52]Qur'an, 51:50.

nonexistent in it, and nonbeing was absorbed into being. When it lost its being in the being of the candle, it abolished both fear of Hell and hope of Paradise.

> Finally we have traversed the seven firmaments,
> Finally we have passed beyond heaven and hell.
> Both Thy Thou-ness and our we-ness are sacrificed;
> O Friend, finally Thou art become we, we are become Thee!

Such is the property of God's rapture, and the meaning of God's command, "Enter My garden."[53]

This is the description of the group that, in accordance with the command of "die before you die," have died a true death before the occurrence of material death. Since they have died before death, God has given them life before resurrection, and made His Divine Presence their place of return and reversion: "Then He will give you life again; and then unto Him ye will return."[54] They reside in this world in outward appearance, but in reality they have transcended the eight paradises. "Thou see the mountains and think them firmly fixed, but they shall pass as the clouds pass—such is God's artistry."[55] This is the return of the tranquil soul, and the meaning of God's command, "Return to thy Lord."

And God's blessings be upon Moḥammad and his family.

[53]Qur'an, 89:30.
[54]Qur'an, 2:28.
[55]Qur'an, 27:88.

Fourth Chapter:
Concerning the Return of the Most Wretched Soul, Which Is the Commanding Soul

God Almighty said: "As for him who exceeds the bounds and prefers the life of this world, hellfire shall be his abode."[1]

He said too: "None shall kindle it but the most wretched, who calls the truth lies and turns away."[2]

The Prophet, upon whom be God's peace and blessings, said: "The garden is surrounded with things disapproved and the fire is surrounded with the passions."[3]

Know that those who voyage on the path of return belong to two groups: the felicitous and the wretched. Each group has a foot on which it advances, and a highway on which it travels. Each too has a place of return that it reaches in accordance with its foot and its highway.

As for the felicitous, they comprise two groups, the elect and the commonalty. The commonalty attain Paradise and its degrees as their place of return, traveling on the foot of opposition to the soul and its caprice and the abandonment of passion and pleasure, along the highway of obedience to the command of the Law and the following of the Sunna: "As for him who fears the standing before his Lord and forbids caprice to his soul, the garden shall be his abode."[4] The elect attain as their place of return "a seat of sincerity,"[5] in the station of immediate proximity, after traveling on the foot of "He shall love them" along the highway of "they shall love Him."[6] "The Godfearing will be in the midst of gardens and rivers, in a seat of sincerity, in the

[1]Qur'an, 79:38.
[2]Qur'an, 92:15.
[3]Tradition recorded by Moslem, Abū Dā'ūd, Termeẕī, Nasā'ī, Däremī and Ebn Ḥanbal.
[4]Qur'an, 79:40.
[5]Qur'an, 54:55.
[6]Qur'an, 5:57.

presence of a monarch omnipotent."[7] This has already been described.

As for the wretched, they also comprise two groups: the wretched and the most wretched. The wretched are certain rebellious sinners in the Muslim community who are steadfast in conforming to the caprice of the soul and insistent on contravening God's command. They reach hellfire and its lowly degrees as their place of return, after traveling on the foot of untrameled indulgence in the pleasures and passions of the soul, along the highway of rebellion against God: "As for him who exceeds the bounds and prefers the life of this world, hellfire shall be his abode."[8] Hence too the Prophet, upon whom be peace, said: "The fire is surrounded with the passions." On another occasion he said: "It is mostly two hollow things that cast my community into the fire: the mouth and the pudenda."[9] That is, eating with the mouth what is illicit, or going to excess in eating what is licit; and satisfying passion illicitly with the pudenda, or falling into the illicit—into different forms of oppression and corruption—for the sake of satisfaction that is licit in itself.

As for the most wretched, this is the attribute of the hypocrite and the unbeliever, who have given themselves fully to seeking this world and its enjoyments; who like beasts have devoted their entire aspiration to full indulgence in carnal and animal pleasures, passions, and enjoyments; who have turned their backs on religion and its practice, and the hereafter; who have lost abiding bliss for the sake of transient enjoyment; and who have totally lost the hereafter without fully gaining this world—"He who wishes the tillage of this world, We shall give him a portion of it; but in the hereafter he will be shareless."[10]

The difference between the wretched and the most wretched is this: Even though the soul of the wretched is afflicted with the wretchedness of rebellion against God and opposition to His command, still his heart beats with the felicity of the acceptance of faith and submission to His command.

[7] Qur'an, 54:55.
[8] Qur'an, 79:38.
[9] Second half of a Tradition recorded by Boḵārī, Termeẕī, and Ebn Ḥanbal.
[10] Qur'an, 42:20.

Even though I never passed by the gate to Thy dwelling,
I never foreswore the gate to Thy dwelling.

The wretched has attained the good fortune of confessing the truth with his tongue and confirming it with his heart, even though he does not fulfill the pillars of the faith. When he enters hellfire in accordance with God's threat—"as for those who are wretched, they shall be in the fire: there, sighing and sobbing shall be theirs, and they shall dwell therein as long as heavens and earth endure"—his profession of faith, *lā elāha ellā'llāh,* and the intercession of Moḥammad, the Messenger of God, will not leave him there, on account of the exception God made—"except as thy Lord willeth."[11] He will be delivered in the end, and his ultimate place of return will be Paradise.

According to an authentic Tradition, some men shall be brought forth from hellfire like burned firewood, and then plunged in the River of Life. Flesh and skin shall grow on them, and they shall come forth with countenances like the moon on its fourteenth night, and an inscription on their foreheads reading, "These it is whom God has set free from the fire."[12]

As for the most wretched, he it is who remains eternally and abidingly in hell. There is no light of *lā elāha ellā'llāh* in him to save him, nor does he qualify for the intercession of Moḥammad, the Messenger of God. Eternity in hell is reserved for such a person. Thus God says: "None shall kindle it but the most wretched, who calls the truth lies and turns away."[13] The believer may pass by hellfire—"not one of you but shall pass by it"[14]—but he does not kindle it. Kindling is for the most wretched—"None shall kindle it but the most wretched." Elsewhere God says: "He shall kindle a blazing fire."[15]

For each group of the people of lewdness, rebellion, unbelief, and accursedness, there is in hellfire and its lowly ranks a sepa-

[11]Qur'an, 11:107.
[12]Tradition recorded by Termeẕī and Ebn Māja.
[13]Qur'an, 92:15.
[14]Qur'an, 19:71.
[15]Qur'an, 111:3.

rate station and place of return, differing in accordance with their modes of behavior. Thus the Prophet, upon whom be peace, said concerning Abū Ṭāleb: "Verily Abū Ṭāleb is in the mildest part of the fire."[16] That is, Abū Ṭāleb is in the first rank of hellfire: only the soles of his feet are in the fire, even though his brain is boiling in his head on account of the heat. Whereas God said concerning the hypocrites: "Verily the hypocrites are in the lowest rank of the fire."[17]

There are different types of unbelief, and also different types of hypocrisy, and each has a certain path and definite place of return. Those whose unbelief is founded on imitation differ from those whose unbelief is founded on investigation, in the same way that those who believe by imitation differ from those who believe by investigation. By the same token that the faith of the investigator is superior to the faith of the imitator, the torment of the unbeliever by investigation will exceed that of the unbeliever by imitation.

Unbelief through imitation is that which is acquired from mother and father by way of imitation—"We found our fathers following a religion."[18] Whatever the unbelievers saw and heard of different faiths, among the people of their city and country, and from their mothers and fathers, they adopted by way of imitation, and through accursedness stayed with it. They will be in the first rank of Hell.

Unbelief by investigation consists of this, that the unbeliever is not content with what he has received from his mother and father by way of imitation. He toils and troubles in an attempt to find proofs; spends a whole lifetime in studying the sciences of unbelief; constantly reads books; engages in ascetic struggle and self-mortification; and strives to purify his soul in order to meditate on rational proofs and evidences. He ends by acquiring

[16]Tradition recorded by Boḵārī, Moslem, and Ebn Ḥanbal. Abū Ṭāleb was the paternal uncle of the Prophet, but despite his devotion to his nephew he never embraced Islam.

[17]Qur'an, 4:144.

[18]Qur'an, 43:22.

only doubts, so that he denies the Maker, or admits only a defective Maker.[19]

Thus he will say that the Maker does not have free will, or knowledge of particularities, and that He is not the creator of the world in the sense of having summoned it from the void and endowed it with being. The Maker is rather a mover, a cause; and the world, the effect produced by Him. And the priority of the cause over the effect is not temporal. By this they mean to say that the world is uncreated and eternal, not subject to transience, and that God is unable to efface this world and incapable of creating another. Satan adorns these and similar articles of unbelief, and their soul deceives them into imagining that the perfection of knowledge and wisdom lies in these thoughts. Whoever does not hold their opinion is a mere imitator and blind, and in his imitation has placed his hand in the hand of those who stumble along on a stick—namely, the prophets, upon whom be peace.

They say that the prophets were sages, and all that they said was philosophy, but that they were obliged to speak to the ignorant in accordance with their capacity and understanding. They therefore pretended to them to be God's messengers, saying: "Gabriel comes to us bringing God's message, and has brought us a book from God." But in reality the books are their own composition, and it is the prophets who have established the ordinances of the Law for the sake of benefiting men's lives in accordance with the principles of philosophy. All that they said to men was an allegory they conceived, by means of which they intended to convey something different. Thus Gabriel consisted of the active intelligence, and Michael of the derived intelligence, both of them proceeding from the emanation of the universal intelligence, and acquiring from it rational truths that they then transmitted to the perceiving soul and the rational soul.

They both invent themselves corrupt fancies, imaginings, and

[19]The following paragraphs constitute another attack by Dāya on the Hellenizing philosophers for their rationalizing deviation from scriptural orthodoxy. The major objections he raises are those made at greater length by Ḡazālī in his *Tahāfot al-falāsefa*, a work probably known to Dāya.

oubts, and accept those that others have invented. For they are conforming to the caprice of the soul, and the soul is an unbeliever in its original disposition: "Truly the soul commands unto evil."[20] When the soul hears these doubts raised, with apparently rational proofs and evidences, it embraces them with heart and soul. "Šann found Ṭabaqa compatible."[21] As acceptance of these articles of unbelief appears in the soul, the denial of religion and Law will increase. Thus acceptance of unbelief and the denial of religion are two steps by means of which the soul may attain its ultimate goal, the lowest of the low that is hellfire: "Two steps, and you'll be there."

This disaster has become widespread among Muslims today, for many ignorant ones have engaged in the study of these sciences, calling them "the science of the principles of religion"[22] so that none should become aware of the vileness of their beliefs and the evil of their deeds. Many are the immature students who, devoid of insight into the sciences of religion and without much light from the world of certainty, set out with the desire to acquire knowledge and undertake journeys, and then, through ill-fortune and God's curse, fall into the company of some crypto-philosopher. That species of knowledge is then placed before them; the articles of unbelief are gradually adorned to their view; and the acquisition of that knowledge and belief in that irreligion and misguidance, which they have called "philosophy"

[20]Qur'an, 12:53.

[21]An Arabic proverb signifying the affinity of the perverse and abnormal. It is said that a man named Šann, in his search for a wife, would pose a series of obscure riddles to all prospective brides; it was finally a woman named Ṭabaqa who was able to answer them (see al-Maydānī, *Majma' al-amṣāl,* II, pp. 211-212).

[22]"The science of the principles of religion" *('elm-e oṣūl-e dīn):* another designation for *kalām,* dialectic theology, "the science of the credal bases of the Law, deduced from rational proofs" (Jorjānī, *Ketab al-ta'rīfāt,* p. 194). Insofar as the concern of *kalām* is the rational discussion of metaphysical and cosmological matters, and its methods of argument are largely derived from Greek logic, there is a certain similarity of content and method between *kalām* and philosophy, despite differences of emphasis and conclusion. Philosophy might therefore be carried on in the guise of *kalām,* and the inexperienced would be unable to unmask the fraud. Hence Dāya's warning against a subject which is in itself licit. It may be noted that for similar reasons Ḡazālī also counseled the commonalty against cultivating *kalām;* see his *Eljām al-'awāmm 'an 'elm al-kalām* (Cairo, 1309/1891).

and "the principles of religion," is made sweet to their hearts. Those inexperienced wretches, unaware of the truths of religion and the stations of the people of certainty, embrace this unbelief, and their souls are deceived by it and take delight in it, saying: "We shall join the people of investigation, and be freed of imitation." Indeed they shall be the people of investigation, but in unbelief; and they shall be freed of imitation, but the imitation of faith.

In the faith of every hapless simpleton who takes up the company of one of these men, on account of their pestilential breath and exhalations, a thousand kinds of doubt, uncertainty, deficiency, and damage will appear. Many are those who have a soul predisposed to such unbelief, and they therefore accept it by way of imitation, completely leaving the fold of Islam. The inauspiciousness of their evil belief then infects others, just as when a mange-ridden camel appears in the herd, a new camel will be afflicted with mange every day.

Concern for religion is not laying hold of the skirt of any monarch's soul, so that he might attempt to repulse the disaster and repair the damage it has caused. It is in roughly the last twenty years that this disaster has appeared and gained strength, for in previous ages none of this group had the temerity to divulge his opinions. They all concealed their unbelief, for there were God-fearing leaders in the sphere of religion, as well as pious monarchs who guarded religion against such pollution.

In this age only a few God-fearing leaders have survived to care for religion and respectfully call the attention of kings to the damage caused by unbelief, so that they might undertake its repair. It is therefore to be feared as a matter of course that the empty chatter concerning religion which is still heard from some mouths will disappear, and the whole world will be submerged in the chatter of unbelief. That which is the reality of Islam will not remain in men's hearts, and nothing of the faith will remain on their tongues except *māšā' Allāh*.[23] It is on account of these inauspicious circumstances that God Almighty has sent

[23]*Māšā'Allāh:* "what God has willed," an exclamation of wonderment made when beholding anything pleasing.

His wrath and anger in the shape of the unbelieving Tartars, so that the reality of Islam having disappeared, He may also overturn the meaningless forms that remain. What end will this affair take, do you say? Each day now, the cunning guile and dominance of those accursed ones increase, and so too the neglect and sinfulness of the people of Islam, which is the cause for all this corruption: "Corruption appeared on the land and the sea on account of what men's hands had earned."[24]

Bitter wine still remains in the goblet;
Let us see what finally befalls it.

God's is all rule; to Him we belong, and we are content with His decree.

There are different forms of hypocrisy also: hypocrisy in Islam, and hypocrisy in unbelief.

As for hypocrisy in Islam, it is that which the Prophet, upon whom be peace, described in an authentic Tradition: "There are three characteristics which when found in a person show him to be a hypocrite. If he has one of them, then he has one characteristic of hypocrisy until he abandons it, even though he fasts, prays, and claims to be a Muslim. When he speaks, he lies; when he gives a promise, he breaks it; and when he is given a trust, he betrays it."[25]

In another version of this Tradition, two other characteristics are also mentioned as belonging to hypocrisy: "When he concludes an agreement, he violates it; and when he falls into enmity, he vilifies."

Such are the dealings of the hypocrites among the people of Islam. In reality, this and similar Traditions are a threat and severe warning to the Muslims, for few are those who escape these characteristics. The Prophet, upon whom be peace, used to say in supplicatory prayer: "O God! I take refuge in Thee from dissension, hypocrisy, and evil morals." It is far more incumbent on us to recite this prayer constantly.

[24]Qur'an, 30:41.
[25]Tradition recorded by Boḵārī, Moslem, Termeẕī, and Ebn Ḥanbal.

As for hypocrisy in unbelief, it is that which is practiced by the philosophers, materialists, naturalists, metempsychosists, antinomians, and heretics. When they are among the Muslims they say, "we are Muslims," whereas in reality they adhere to those articles of unbelief and doubt that have been described. When they are among their own kind, they divulge their true beliefs and say: "We mock the imitators with our claim to be Muslim." God Almighty has foretold their state: "When they meet those who believe, they say, 'we have accepted faith,' but when they are alone with their devils, they say, 'we are with you in truth; we were but jesting.' God it is that mocks them, and He gives them rope in their trespass, so they wander in blindness."[26] Every unbeliever who conceals his unbelief and claims with his tongue to be Muslim belongs to this group. The place of return and reversion of the hypocrites is as God described: "Verily the hypocrites are in the lowest degree of the fire; and thou shalt find for them no helper."[27]

Who truly appreciates the good fortune of Islam, and who can give due thanks for the bounty of faith?

> O Thou whose dwelling is the *qebla* of the fortunate,
> To whom are turned the hearts of all the joyous!
> Should one today avert his face from Thee,
> What eye will be left him to behold Thee tomorrow?

Considering the several thousand disasters that beset the path of man and the different kinds of affliction with which he is tried, how would he escape the trap of the world, adorned with "made fair-seeming for men," where he is firmly fettered with the bonds of "the love of passion," were it not for the aid and succor given him by the gaze of God's grace? Remember that from one end to the other of this trap have been scattered the seven seeds of "women, offspring, hoards heaped up of gold and silver, horses branded, cattle and tillage";[28] and were there to be only one of these different kinds of seed, still man's beast-like soul would incline to it.

[26]Qur'an, 2:14.
[27]Qur'an, 4:144.
[28]Qur'an, 3:14.

Only one seed was prohibited to Adam, upon whom be peace, with all his honor and rank—"approach not this tree"[29]—yet when self-restraint was not granted him, he fell into the trap of rebellion and forgetfulness: "and Adam rebelled against his Lord and erred."[30] When God left Adam to himself, his attribute was "and Adam rebelled"; and when He raised him up with His favor, his description became "He chose Adam."[31] Paradise was Adam's place of enjoyment—"Ye shall have there all that the souls desire"[32]—but when favor was not granted him, his place of enjoyment became a trap. Eblīs snared two prey with a single seed—"Satan caused them to err."[33] So too the world was a trap for Adam, but when favor was granted him, it became a place of enjoyment: With the single word of "O Lord, we have wronged ourselves,"[34] he attained the joy of "then He chose him."[35] When the fullness of God's favor was withheld from Adam for an hour, he could not endure for an instant; but when it was granted to him, no regret endured.

Our shaikh, Majd al-mella va'l-dīn,[36] may God sanctify his cherished soul, said:

No slave there is that despairs of Thy favor;
  None accepted by Thee but gains eternal good fortune.
No atom touched by Thy favor an instant
  But becomes more precious than a thousand suns.

In truth, all the chains and fetters that were forged in this trap for the wretched and the most wretched were made from the material of the seven worldly goods—"Those are the goods of the life of this world." Each low degree of Hell that was fashioned for this class was made from material obtained in the shop "made fair-seeming for men."[37] Seven gates were opened onto

[29]Qur'an, 2:35.
[30]Qur'an, 20:121.
[31]Qur'an, 3:33.
[32]Qur'an, 43:71.
[33]Qur'an, 2:36.
[34]Qur'an, 7:22.
[35]Qur'an, 20:122.
[36]I.e., Majd al-Dīn Baḡdādī; his expanded title means "glory of the community and the religion."
[37]Qur'an, 3:14.

hellfire from the seven passions ("it has seven gates")[38]—and seven highways, consisting of the various passions, were laid out, leading to Hell's low degrees: "The fire is surrounded with the passions."[39] The seeds of these seven passions were sown in man's seven members, and the five senses were entrusted with their cultivation until, after a period of fifteen years,[40] the fruit of passion appeared on the tree to which each seed had given rise. Then the bringer of the Law was sent to deal with that tree, and he imposed the tribute of prostration on each member: "I was commanded to prostrate myself on seven members."[41] He also instructed man to use the fruits of those trees as the seed of felicity in the hereafter, and to sow them in the soil of servitude with the hand of the Law—"The world is the tillage of the hereafter."[42]

The solicitude of the Lord of Splendor and His unending grace, at the very beginning of being, caused some men to advance toward the lofty degrees of Paradise, drawn on by the reins of "those who feared their Lord shall be led,"[43] along the highway of "as for him who fears the standing before his Lord," and traveling on the foot of "he forbade caprice to his soul,"[44] to the place of return of "the garden is their abode."[45] Similarly, His exalted might and disdainful severity, at the origin of creation, caused another group to hasten under the wrathful lash of "those who believed not shall be led,"[46] along the highway of "as for him who exceeds all bounds,"[47] traveling on the foot of "and prefers the life of this world,"[48] to the place of return of "hellfire is their abode."[49] "These are in Paradise, and I care not; these others are in Hell, and I care not."[50]

[38]Qur'an, 15:44.
[39]Part of the Tradition quoted at the beginning of this chapter.
[40]Fifteen is the age of legal accountability *(mokallafīyat)*, when the performance of the ritual duties becomes incumbent.
[41]Tradition previously quoted on p. 210.
[42]Tradition previously quoted on p. 93.
[43]Qur'an, 39:73.
[44]Qur'an, 79:40.
[45]Qur'an, 79:41.
[46]Qur'an, 39:73.
[47]Qur'an, 79:41.
[48]Qur'an, 79:38.
[49]Qur'an, 79:39.
[50]*Ḥadīṣ qodsī* recorded by Ebn Ḥanbal.

Were not God's uncaused grace to lean solicitously over the soul, how might it evade the lasso of His wrath and the chains of His cunning? And what strength would it have to dissolve the bonds of His supreme talisman?

> One tired of his own self is needed,
> One who left body and soul is needed.
> At each step a thousand or more fetters—
> A swift-paced breaker of fetters is needed.

It is only in the heads of kings that may be fittingly conceived the passionate aspiration of wayfaring, for this supreme conquest and weighty task cannot be undertaken by every indigent beggar. But if it proves possible to escape the grasp of cunning Eblīs and to depart this world in the garment of Islam and the clothing of faith, such will be for you perfect good fortune and everlasting felicity. O God, grant that our lives be ended in Islam:

> If on the last day thou quench not the lamp of my covenant,
> I will surrender my soul in joy and tranquillity.
> If thou strip me not of the garment of Islam,
> What greater happiness than death in Islam?

Let us now explain what providential purpose was inherent in giving death after life and life after death. In so doing we shall answer the heedless and misguided one, that straying and worthless one, who said:

> Why did the Maker adorn the forms of creation,
> And why then cast them down to decay and decrease?
> Should the forms be ugly, whose fault is it?
> And if pleasing they be, why desire their ruin?[51]

Know that man has five states. The first is that of nonbeing, as in God's saying: "Did there not pass over man a period of time in which he was not a thing remembered?"[52] That is, in the concealment of nonbeing man had being only as an object known of

[51]Quatrain of Ḵayyām previously quoted on p. 54.
[52]Qur'an, 76:1.

God's knowledge, but he had no awareness of his own being: he did not remember his own self, nor was he remembered by his own self.

The second state is that of being in the world of spirits, as the Prophet, upon whom be peace, said: "Spirits are like armies drawn up: those that are familiar to each other join together, and those that are unknown to each other diverge."[53] That is, when man emerged from the concealment of nonbeing into the world of spirits, he acquired awareness of himself: he remembered his own self, and was remembered by his own self.

The third state is that of attachment of the spirit to the bodily frame, as God said: "And I inhaled in him of My spirit."[54]

The fourth state is that of the separation of the spirit from the bodily frame, as God said: "Every soul shall taste death."[55]

The fifth state is that of the return of the spirit to the frame, as God said: "Then He will give you death, then life again,"[56] and also, "say: 'He will give them life Who created them the first time.'"[57]

These five states were essential for man to attain perfection in the knowledge of the Divine Essence and attributes, and for the providential wisdom inherent in the creation of beings to be realized—"I was a hidden treasure, and I desired to be known."[58]

Firstly, the state of nonbeing was necessary so that when man acquired a created being in the world of spirits and obtained awareness of his own existence, he might perceive himself to be created and know God to be uncreate.

Second, the state of being in the world of spirits was necessary so that before man reached the world of bodies he might experi-

[53]Tradition previously quoted on p. 220.
[54]Qur'an, 15:29.
[55]Qur'an, 3:185.
[56]Qur'an, 2:28.
[57]Qur'an, 36:79.
[58]*Ḥadīs̱ qodsī* previously quoted on p. 144.

ence immediate witnessing in the purity of spirituality; receive the effusion of God's grace without a separating veil; and become worthy to hear the address of "am I not your Lord?" and fit for the felicity of answering "Yes."[59] And when he gained the good fortune of immediate discourse with God, he might recognize the Mighty Presence as his Lord, and know Him with the attributes of will, life, speech, hearing, sight, power, and eternity, which are the attributes of His essence.[60] If man had had no being in the world of spirits before joining the world of bodies, he would have had neither true knowledge of those attributes nor the capacity to attain anew, in the world of bodies, the purity of spirituality by means of training, and thus to reach the station of discourse with God.

The third state, that of the attachment of the spirit to the bodily frame, was necessary for man to acquire the instruments needed for the perfection of knowledge, and for him to gain awareness of the particularities and generalities of the unseen and manifest worlds. It is also in this state that man can know God with His attributes of provider, compassionate, merciful, forgiving, concealer of sins, bestower of bounty, munificent, liberal, and accepter of repentance. With the aid of the instruments acquired in this state, man can also reach stations of gnosis in the training of the spirit that were not his in the world of spirits—witnessing, unveiling, God-given knowledge, different kinds of manifestation and rapturous states, and union with the Divine Presence, as well as other types of knowledge that lie beyond the scope of all explanation.

The fourth state, that of the separation of the spirit from the bodily frame, was necessary for two reasons. First, for the pollution that had adhered to the spirit as a result of its keeping the company of bodies to be gradually removed by separation from them; for the spirit to leave behind the intimacy and familiarity it had acquired with corporeal objects, and return to the purity of spirituality; and for the spirit to partake of gnosis and proximity to the Mighty Presence by means of the attributes it had acquired from the instrument of the bodily frame, but without

[59]Qur'an, 7:171.
[60]Cf. p. 318.

the interference of the body, or the stain of humanity and the darkness of createdness.

Second, for the spirit, no longer in the bodily frame, to gain a taste of knowledge of the unseen by means of the instruments it acquired while in the bodily frame and had not had in the world of spirits. Previously, it did not have the instruments for perceiving such knowledge, either in the world of spirits or in the world of bodies, for whatever came to it in the latter it received from behind the veil of the bodily frame, whereas now its perception is not obstructed.

The human person is like a tree, of which the seed is the pure Mohammadan spirit—God's peace and blessings be upon its possessor—"the first that God created was my spirit."[61] First the roots of a tree grow from the seed in the ground; then the tree appears above the ground; and finally fruit appears on the tree. So too, from the seed of the Mohammadan spirit grew the roots of the world of spirits, or Dominion; then the tree of corporeal objects sprang up from those roots, above the ground of the sensible world; from the tree of corporeal objects sprouted the leaves of animality; and finally the fruit of humanity appeared on the branch of the tree of creation.

As long as a fruit is on the tree, like the grape or the peach, it has a certain taste. But when you pluck it from the tree and leave it in the sun for a time, the grape becomes a raisin, and the peach a prune, through the effect of the sun, and then the fruit has a different taste. Even though it received the effect of the sun while still on the tree, as long as its foot was rooted in the clay of the tree, part of the property of that clay was joined to the succor received from the sun; hence moisture and sourness remained in the grape. Once the influence of the tree upon the grape ceased, it gained a new sweetness as raisin, for it received the nurturing effect of the sun without any interference from the tree. At first the grape needed the tree for its nurture; and if there had been no tree, the grape could not have grown merely from the effect of the sun. But when the grape had ripened, it could not advance to the stage of raisin while still on the tree,

[61]Tradition previously quoted on p. 70.

and it became necessary to pluck it from the tree and nurture it by the sun alone, until it turned into a sweet raisin.

Similarly, the spirit that resembles a fruit must be separated from the tree of the bodily frame, in order to receive for a time the effect of the sun of God's gaze without the mediation and interference of the clay of the body. When the spirit in the beginning, still in the world of spirits, had not reached the perfection of the human degree, it was not capable of receiving the influence of God's gaze. It is only by means of material death that it is possible truly to know God's attribute of giver of death. Here there are many mysteries and subtleties that whole books would be unable to describe.

The fifth state, that of returning the spirit to the bodily frame, was necessary for this reason, that the perfection of man lies in his exercising the function of divine viceregent throughout all the realms of the unseen and manifest worlds, and this world and the hereafter, and in his partaking in full measure of the various bounties that have been prepared for him in both worlds: "I have prepared for My righteous servants that which no eye has seen, no ear has heard, nor has crossed the heart of any man."[62]

Some of these bounties are spiritual and others corporeal. As for those which are corporeal, use can be made of them only by means of corporeal instruments. Man's corporeal, worldly, and transient frame is therefore resurrected with the luminous and eternal aspect of the hereafter—"a day on which the earth is changed into other than earth."[63] Even though it is the same bodily frame, it no longer has the same worldly aspect.

The worldly frame was constructed from the four elements of earth, wind, water, and fire, but was under the dominance of water and earth—"from glutinous clay."[64] Both of these are sensible and dense, and are perceived by the visual sense, whereas wind and fire are insensible and subtle, and are not perceived by

[62]*Ḥadīs̱ qodsī* previously quoted on p. 133.
[63]Qur'an, 14:48.
[64]Qur'an, 37:11.

the visual sense. They are therefore subordinate and latent in the bodily frame.

In the hereafter, which is the realm of subtlety, the frame is also constructed from the four elements, but wind and fire, both being subtle, are made dominant over it, while earth and water are made subordinate and latent. The light that is today latent in the heart of the believer will be given dominance over his outward form: "Their light shall flow forth in front of them."[65] The verse, "a day on which some faces shall be whitened and others blackened,"[66] also refers to this matter.

When the frame is subtle and luminous, it no longer interferes with the spirit, since that which was the cause of its interfering has been removed by the effect of "We have removed all rancor from their breasts."[67] So too does the glassmaker remove all dust and impurity from the substance of glass so that its outside and inside become alike: from the outside the inside can be seen, and from the inside, the outside.

The verse "a day on which innermost dispositions shall be divulged"[68] also refers to the making apparent of the inward aspect of men through their outer aspect.

> The glass and the wine, both are transparent;
> They are now similar—the matter is complex![69]

It is also said in Tradition that so delicate and subtle will be the bones of the people of Paradise that the marrow itself will be visible.

The bodily frame will then be resurrected in this subtle form so that it can enjoy its full share of the bounties of the eight paradises, without any darkness arising from it to interfere with the spirit. It is not possible to gain true knowledge of God's at-

[65]Qur'an, 57:12.
[66]Qur'an, 3:106.
[67]Qur'an, 7:43.
[68]Qur'an, 86:9.
[69]A line from Ṣāḥeb b. 'Abbād (al-Ṣa'ālebī, *Yatīmat al-dahr,* III, p. 94).

tribute of giver of life except by means of the revival of bodily form—"Say: 'He will give life to them Who first created them.'"[70]

The spirit is first nurtured to perfection in the company of the bodily frame, fully acquiring the instruments of knowledge. It is then separated from the bodily frame and nurtured for long by the radiance of the gaze of God's grace, in the world of the unseen. Corporeal pollution is gradually effaced from it, and it receives unmediated provision from the effusion of God's generosity: "They shall receive provision, happy with that which God gives them from His generosity."[71] Thus fortified, it is sent again to the world of the bodily frame in order to exercise the properties of both possessor and king throughout all the realms of creation, by means of corporeal instruments. In the station of immediacy it enjoys spiritual bounty in abundant measure, without the interference of corporeal instruments. It attains too the taste of perfect knowledge and nearness in the station of immediate proximity—"in a seat of sincerity in the presence of a monarch omnipotent."[72] Then neither does the spirit divert the body from its tasks, nor the body the spirit from its tasks: "One concern does not divert him from another." Inevitably, therefore, the title of God's letter to him is this: "from the Living King That dies not, to the living king that dies not."

The difference between servitude and divinity is that He, Glorious and Almighty, works His will in all the realms of creation independently and originally, without any need of instruments; whereas his bondsman does so as deputy and viceregent, by means of instruments. But God is most knowing of what is correct.

This indication must suffice; it is not permissible to divulge the rest of the divine mysteries, for "divulging the mystery of dominicality is unbelief." "He who knows them, knows them; he who knows them not, knows them not."

And God's blessings be upon Moḥammad and all his family.

[70]Qur'an, 36:79.
[71]Qur'an, 3:170.
[72]Qur'an, 54:55.

Fifth Part:

Concerning the Wayfaring of Different Classes of Men and Containing Eight Chapters, because of the Blessing Inherent in These Words of God Almighty: "Eight Pairs"[1]

[1]Qur'an, 6:143.

First Chapter:
Concerning the Wayfaring of Kings and the Lords of Command

God Almighty said: "O David, We have made thee a vicegerent upon earth, so rule among men with justice and follow not caprice, for that would cause thee to stray from God's path. And for those who stray from God's path there is a severe chastisement, because they forgot the Day of Reckoning."[2]

The Prophet, upon whom be God's peace and blessings, said: "The king is the shadow of God upon earth, in whom all the oppressed take refuge."[3]

Know that kingship is the viceregency and deputyhood of God Almighty upon earth. The designation of the king by the Prophet as the shadow of God also means that he is the vicegerent, for if in the world of form someone stands on the roof of a house and casts his shadow on the ground, that shadow will be the viceregent of his essence on the ground. It will be referred to as his, and men will say, "it is so-and-so's shadow."

When God Almighty placed as a trust one of the mysteries of His favor in the *homā* bird,[4] see what effect it produced, and what property arose! If the *homā* cast its shadow on someone's head, he would gain the dignity of kingship and the good fortune of monarchy. When God Almighty in His perfect solicitude chooses a slave, bestows on him the unique grace of being His shadow, and grants him the felicity of receiving the reflection of the Divine Essence and attributes, see what auspiciousness and good fortune, what dignity and favor, He implants in that ennobled essence, that honored nature! The least property of that noble essence and subtle nature is that all those he regards with the gaze of favor—the worthy and unworthy alike—should enjoy auspicious fortune and be accepted by the whole world; and

[2]Qur'an, 38:26.
[3]Tradition referred to previously on p. 156.
[4]*Homā* bird: a legendary bird mentioned in pre-Islamic Iranian mythology, believed to confer sovereignty on whomever its shadow fell upon.

whomever he regards with the gaze of wrath shall be ill-favored and rejected by the whole world.

One of the ancient kings is related to have said: "We are time: whoever we elevate, will be elevated; and whoever we abase, will be abased." These words have meaning, but the king's perception was not perfect, enabling him to know himself better, for otherwise he would have said not "we are time," but rather "we are the viceregents of the Compassionate."

There are two classes of kings: kings of the world and kings of religion. Those who are kings of the world are the form for God's attributes of favor and wrath, but they are imprisoned within their forms and unable to recognize their attributes. God's attributes of favor and wrath are manifest through them, but not to them. They are like the moon-faced one who was unaware of her own beauty while others enjoyed it.

> Pleasant is the love of a fair-faced one,
> Who knows naught of her own fairness.

As for those who are the kings of religion, they are both the manifestation of the divine attributes of favor and wrath and the recipient of that manifestation.[5] They have opened the supreme talisman of form with the key of the Law, held in the hand of the Path, and with the eye of the Truth they have contemplated the states and attributes stored and hidden in the depths of their being, like buried treasure and gems. They have penetrated to the mystery of the treasure of "he who knows his self, knows too his Lord,"[6] and have mounted as rightful owners the throne of eternal kingship and the seat of abiding monarchy—"and when thou lookest, there thou wilt see bliss and a great kingdom"[7]—for "God has kings clothed in rags."[8] Their high aspiration joyously disdains the journey of "its early morning course was a

[5]That is, they will be the means for the manifestation of those attributes, and at the same time be conscious of being the means.

[6]Tradition previously quoted on p. 28.

[7]Qur'an, 76:20.

[8]Tradition of unknown status.

month, and its evening course a month,"[9] for it circles the realms of both worlds in a single instant.

> Wherever a town lies, it is my fief,
>   Whether I go to Iran or to Turan.
> I carry a hundred thousand Turks within me,
>   And wherever I go, I go as sultan.

The supreme happiness and utmost good fortune consist in this, that a man of lofty aspiration be granted kingship of the realms of both religion and the world, for then, with the viceregency of "Ours is the first and the last,"[10] he will control the affairs of both realms. This rank was granted to David, upon whom be peace—"O David, We have made thee a viceregent upon earth, so rule among men with justice, and follow not caprice, for that would cause thee to stray from God's path."[11] The Glorious Presence has established ten ordinances in this one verse, and admonished kings with respect to the customs and rules of government, the norms of kingship, and the practices of justice.

First He said, "O David, We have made thee a viceregent," indicating that the king must regard his kingship as God's gift and consider his kingdom the result of His beneficence: "Thou givest kingship to whom Thou wishest."

Second, there is a reminder to the king contained in the indication that God gave him kingship. He will know that God took it from another to give it to him, and that one day it will be taken from him to be given to another—"Thou takest kingship from whom Thou wishest."[12] He will therefore strive to attain true and abiding kingship by means of this borrowed and transient kingship, and not to deprive himself of fair repute among men and abundant reward in the hereafter.

[9]Qur'an, 34:12. This expression describes a wind that God subordinated to the command of Solomon.
[10]Qur'an, 92:13.
[11]Qur'an, 38:26.
[12]Qur'an, 3:26.

Third, he will know that kingship is the viceregency of God.

Fourth, God said: "So rule among men with justice." This is an indication that he should exercise rule among his subjects in his own person, and as far as possible avoid entrusting rule over them to others, for his deputies and the commanders of state cannot show to the subjects the same kindliness, solicitude, and compassion as the king. There are five types of compassion, each shown by an individual to a group, that are unequaled: the compassion of God to His bondsmen, the solicitude of the prophet for his community, the kindliness of the king to his subjects, the affection of the mother and father for their offspring, and the jealous concern of the shaikh for his *morīds*.

Fifth, God ordered that David should rule justly—that is, in rectitude and equity, avoiding oppression and injustice.

Sixth, when he ruled justly, he was to do so in obedience to God's command. He was to rule justly not in accordance with instinctual nature, but in accordance with the Law, and to do so not for the sake of man, but for the sake of God.

Seventh, God ordered him not to follow caprice, for whoever follows caprice cannot act in his realm in obedience to God's command, nor can he perform what he does for the sake of God. For when caprice becomes dominant over a person, it is caprice that controls him, issuing injunctions and prohibitions. Caprice always commands man to disobey God, and indeed nothing except caprice can openly defy the Divine Presence and claim divinity. Thus God said: "Hast thou seen him who has taken his caprice as his god?"[13] If the pharaoh claimed divinity, it was out of caprice; if the Children of Israel worshipped the calf, it was out of caprice; and if some men took an idol as god, it was out of caprice. The Prophet, upon whom be peace, said: "No god more hateful to God has ever been worshipped than caprice."[14] In truth, it is caprice that sets up gods—

[13]Qur'an, 45:23.
[14]Tradition of unknown status.

O thou whose caprice conjures up gods,
Whose gods are all hated of God![15]

Eighth, God showed how to follow caprice is to stray from His path: "For that would cause thee to stray from God's path." Conversely, to oppose caprice is to travel on God's path: "and he who forbids caprice to his soul, the garden shall be his abode."[16]

Ninth, God said: "and for those who stray from God's path there is a severe chastisement, because they forgot the Day of Reckoning."[17] This is an indication that whoever falls away from God's path under the influence of caprice and then persists in that state will finish as an unbeliever, subject to severe chastisement. For unbelief consists of forgetting the hereafter and forgetting God, and precisely this forgetting brings the severest of chastisements—"They forget God, and He forgets them."[18]

Tenth, God Almighty showed how kingship over men may be joined to the station and degree of prophethood, so that the king both fulfills his duties of rule and conquest, of diffusing justice and caring for his subjects, and also travels with care the path of religion and observance of the Law, observing all the customs of sainthood and the conditions of prophethood. Thus the holders of power and the lords of command are left with no excuse or pretext that might permit them to say, "because of our kingship in the world of form and our preoccupation with men's welfare, we were unable to obtain the advantages of religion and the benefits of wayfaring." On the contrary, kingship is the most complete instrument for the worship of God, and monarchy the greatest means for drawing near to His presence.

It was for this reason that Solomon, upon whom be peace, requested kingship, not knowledge and prophethood: "O Lord, forgive me, and grant me kingship such as shall be meet for none

[15]A line from Sanā'ī (*Dīvān,* p. 182).
[16]Qur'an, 79:40.
[17]Qur'an, 38:26.
[18]Qur'an, 9:68.

after me; Thou art the granter of limitless bounty!"[19] In this request, several wise reasons were contained.

First, Solomon knew that when kingship is complete, it includes knowledge and prophethood. Thus when God gave to Adam, upon whom be peace, the kingship of viceregency in its entirety, knowledge and prophethood were included in it. God said: "'I am about to appoint a viceregent on earth,'[20] and to assign a deputy to the kingdom of the world." He did not say: "I am creating a prophet, a scholar, or a worshipper." Similarly, He said to David, "We have made thee a viceregent upon earth,"[21] not a prophet, a messenger, or a scholar, for all of these are included in the quality of viceregent.

Second, when the power of monarchy and the splendor of kingship are allied to knowledge and prophethood, their effect and influence are increased a thousandfold, and the dignity of religion is made manifest by the sword. Thus the Prophet said, "O God, give power to Islam through 'Omar or Abū Jahl,"[22] and he established too a relationship between prophethood and the sword when he said, "I am the prophet of the sword."[23]

Third, when the king exercises rule through the constant spreading of justice and nurturing of equity among his subjects; when he restrains the oppressors from their oppression, and the licentious from their licentiousness; when he fortifies the weak and chastens the strong; when he respects the dignity of the scholars so that they become eager to learn the science of the Law; when he seeks blessing and auspiciousness from honoring the righteous, so that they become still more inclined to righteousness and worship; when he orders that the good should be enjoined and the evil forbidden, so that throughout the kingdom his subjects may engage in the cultivation of the Law and the nurturing of religion; and when he makes the roads secure for the coming and going of travelers—when he does all this, every

[19]Qur'an, 38:35.
[20]Qur'an, 20:30.
[21]Qur'an, 38:26.
[22]Tradition recorded by Ebn Māja and Ebn Ḥanbal.
[23]Tradition recorded by Ebn Ḥanbal.

good deed and act of worship, and the learning and devotion that the people of his kingdom engage in, as well as their tranquillity and prosperity, shall be inscribed by God Almighty in the king's register of righteous deeds. Similarly, every act of oppression, licentiousness, and abomination, and every forbidden and frivolous deed that he prohibits and from which men refrain on account of his chastisement, shall also be a means for him to draw near to the Divine Presence. Indeed, each of them shall be for him as a foot, so that if others journey to the Mighty Presence on their own feet alone, the monarch journeys on several thousand feet. This felicity is not given to everyone: "That is God's generosity: He gives it to whomsoever He wills."[24]

Fourth, kingship and sovereignty represent the most complete means for attaining the desires of the soul and enjoying to the full its passions and pleasures. The one who has no capacity to indulge the caprice of his soul will not do so, and instead be obedient to God's Law. For this he will be rewarded, but not in the same fashion as the person who, having the means variously to indulge the caprice of his soul, tramples them all underfoot, and with utter sincerity abandons the passions, pleasures, and caprice of his soul in order to draw near to God. In return for each instrument and capacity that he possesses for following caprice but does not use, seeking instead the nearness of God, he will gain a measure of nearness and a rank and degree in God's presence.

It is related in an authentic Tradition that the poor among the Companions came to the Prophet, upon whom be peace, and said: "O Messenger of God! The possessors of affluence and wealth have borne off all the reward and bounty in this world and the hereafter." He said: "How so?" They answered: "We pray and they pray; we fast and they fast. But they pay the purifying tax and give alms, and we cannot do so; they go on pilgrimage and military campaigns and emancipate slaves, and we cannot do so." The Prophet said: "Shall I teach you something that when you do it will be better for you than owning the whole world and spending it in God's path; and nobody's worship shall then attain yours, except for him who does the same?"

[24]Qur'an, 62:4.

They said: "Teach us, O Messenger of God!" He said: "After each obligatory prayer say thirty-three times, 'glory be to God,' thirty-three times, 'praise be to God,' and thirty-three times, 'God is greatest'; and then a full hundred times, *lā elāha ellā'llāh.*" Afterward one of the Companions, a helper, was told in a dream that it would be better to say, "glory be to God" twenty-five times, "praise be to God" twenty-five times, *lā elāha ellā'llāh* twenty-five times, and "God is greatest" twenty-five times. He came and related this to the Prophet, who said: "Do as this helper has said." Thereafter the poor engaged in this form of *ẕekr* after each obligatory prayer. The wealthy among the Companions heard of what had happened and began themselves to make the same recitations. The poor came again to the presence of the Prophet and said: "O Messenger of God, the same recitations that we are making, the rich are also making; but we cannot perform the good deeds that they do." The Prophet said: "That is God's generosity: He gives it to whomsoever He wills."[25] That is, it is generosity bestowed on them by God Almighty that they are able to serve Him with both their persons and their property.

Therefore Solomon desired to serve the Mighty Presence with both person and property, with kingship and the different classes of subject—jinn and men, beasts and birds, venomous creatures and vermin—and the other instruments of monarchy and tools of sovereignty, so that by means of all these he might seek to approach and draw near to God. For the more numerous are the means of drawing near, the greater is the degree of nearness and high rank attained.

Fifth, kingship and sovereignty represent the most perfect instrument and greatest resource for the cultivation of both the reprehensible and the praiseworthy attributes. If the reprehensible attributes of the soul are cultivated with that instrument, the king will reach a stage where he claims divinity, and this claim represents the utmost limit of the reprehensible attributes. It is not possible to reach this low degree while lacking the instrument of monarchy. No indigent pauper has ever claimed divinity, because his soul does not possess the instrument necessary to cultivate the attributes of arrogance, tyranny, and ego-

[25]Tradition recorded by Boḵārī, Moslem, Termeẕī, and Ebn Ḥanbal.

ism. Since the pharaoh had the instrument in its entirety, he cultivated the attributes of arrogance and egoism in his soul to such a point of maturity that they bore the fruit of "he gathered them and announced to them saying, 'I am your Lord the Most High.'"[26] He relied upon his kingship and sovereignty and said: "Is it not mine, the kingdom of Egypt, and these rivers flowing beneath me?"[27]

Similarly, if the praiseworthy attributes of the soul are cultivated with these same instruments, the monarch will reach a stage where he acquires divine qualities and takes on dominical attributes, this representing the utmost limit of the praiseworthy attributes and the perfection of religion. For the Prophet, upon whom be peace, said: "I was sent to complete the noblest of qualities."[28] It is not possible to attain these qualities in their perfection without the instrument of kingship and monarchy. If one should wish to cultivate the attributes of liberality and generosity, which are among the divine attributes and thus to acquire the qualities of God, in accordance with the imperative "acquire the qualities of God"[29] (this being the most emphatic of all commands, and indeed the reason for the sending of the prophets and the purpose for the laws of different religions and the revelation of Books), those attributes of liberality and generosity can be cultivated only by the abundant dispensing of wealth and largesse.

If it is desired to cultivate the attribute of forbearance, power, might, and sovereignty must be present so that the king can endure the vexation and trouble caused him by the people, and forbearance thus gain dominance over him. For if there is no power and strength and one practices endurance, it is compulsory, not voluntary. Then it will be a question not of forbearance, but rather of impotence. The divine attribute is forbearance; impotence is an attribute of mankind alone.

When it is desired to cultivate the attribute of pardoning, which is an attribute of God, there must be present complete

[26]Qur'an, 79:23.
[27]Qur'an, 43:51.
[28]Tradition recorded by Mālek.
[29]Tradition recorded by Moslem.

strength and power to punish the criminal, for the king to be able to forgive and pardon him. Then he will take on an attribute of God, and become beloved of Him: "Verily God is much given to pardoning, and loves pardoning."[30]

All these are among God's attributes of favor. If the monarch wishes to take on God's attributes of wrath, he will need the instrument of kingship and sovereignty in its completeness, so that he can uproot and subdue the unbelievers, the hypocrites and the innovators, and chastise them to perfection, thus reflecting God's attributes. For He said: "O Prophet, fight against the unbelievers and hypocrites and be harsh with them."[31] And again: "in order that He might chastise the hypocrites, men and women alike."[32] This purpose can be attained by undertaking expeditions; by striving to conquer the lands of unbelief; by dispatching armies in all directions; by punishing the people of oppression, lewdness, and corruption; by exacting justice for the oppressed and the weak from the oppressor and the strong; by repelling thieves and highway robbers; by executing God's penalty on the criminal; by regarding retribution against the offender as imperative, in accordance with God's law; and by dispensing punishment without quarter throughout the realm, and like activities.

If the king wishes to take on the attributes of compassion, kindliness, and solicitude, an extensive kingdom is needed with numerous subjects so that he may exercise these attributes toward each group in accordance with its merit, and thus attain perfection in them.

The best instrument for God's bondsman to serve Him and reach high degree, and to acquire states of nearness and journey through the stations of the Path, is human aspiration. For if, by virtue of the attributes we have mentioned, it is possible to journey to God's presence, with aspiration it is possible to fly there: "Man flies with his aspiration as a bird flies with its wings."[33]

[30]Tradition.
[31]Qur'an, 9:74.
[32]Qur'an, 48:6.
[33]Arabic utterance of unknown origin.

It is again in kingship that aspiration can be nurtured to perfection. For the king has at his disposal wealth, abundance, and riches, the means for the fulfilment of desire and all kinds of bounty. But he pays no attention to them; derives from them no human, animal, bestial or predatory pleasure; and makes no use of any of them in accordance with instinctual nature and caprice. Instead, he turns away from them and devotes them all to the service of God, in obedience to the command of the Law and the code of submission. He purges his aspiration of all attention to them and approval of them, thus escaping like Abraham the danger of associating them to God—"Verily I am free from that which ye associate with him"[34]—and looks on them all with the eye of enmity—"Verily they are enemies unto me, except the Lord of the Worlds."[35] He gives loftiness to his aspiration, not attaching his heart to these things but rather to their Creator: "Verily I have turned my face to Him Who created the heavens and earth, in pure sincerity, and I am not of those who associate partners unto Him."[36]

I wish this grief to become familiar to me;
  How good if this grief be granted to me!
O grieving heart, draw his grief to your bosom—
  When you look, you will see his grief to be him![37]

When aspiration is nurtured to perfection, God's richness will manifest itself, this being the noblest station for the People of Wayfaring. Until the Prophet, upon whom be peace, in the loftiness of his aspiration attained the attributes of "his gaze swerved not, nor strayed,"[38] he did not merit the degree of richness of "He found thee poor, and enriched thee."[39] Solomon, too, upon whom be peace, in order to cultivate aspiration, would weave rush baskets with his own blessed hands, despite all his kingship and sovereignty, and might and abundance. From the money gained in selling the baskets, he would prepare some un-

[34]Qur'an, 6:78.
[35]Qur'an, 26:77.
[36]Qur'an, 6:79.
[37]A quatrain attributed to Majd al-Dīn Ṭāleb by 'Eyn al-Qożāt Hamadānī in his *Lavā'eḥ* (p. 73).
[38]Qur'an, 53:17.
[39]Qur'an, 93:8.

pretentious morsel, find himself some wretched pauper and then consume that morsel with him, saying, "one wretch sitting with another."

If someone should ask, "If kingship and sovereignty have so many advantages, and are means for drawing near and gaining closeness to God, then why was the kingship of this world not given to the Prophet in the same perfection that it was given to Solomon, or even more fully, so that by means of it he might have sought nearness and cultivated divine attributes and qualities?" the answer to him is twofold.

First, the elect of God consist of two classes: the specially cherished and the suppliants. As for the specially cherished, the goal is given to them to embrace even without their asking, and they are not encumbered with the means for acquiring it. But the suppliants are granted their desire only on account of need and request, and they must concern themselves with the means for acquiring it. It is like someone seeking out a bow and arrow and then going hunting; after loosing several arrows at the birds, he finally fells one. But another person is given a bird by someone, without his being concerned with the means used in obtaining it or enduring effort and trouble.

Now the Prophet, upon whom be peace, is specially cherished by God: the Mighty Presence swears a weighty oath upon his head and his life—"by thy life."[40] All that is the goal of worldly kingship and sovereignty has been put in his arms without the concern of requesting and the trouble of trial—"God's generosity to thee was great."[41] What was the goal that God designated as great generosity? The acquisition of God's qualities. This was given to the Prophet in perfection, and he was caressed with a hundred favors: "Verily thou art of great character."[42] The bird of union that Moses had wished in vain to capture with the bow and arrow of "show me, that I may look upon Thee" and that had flown in its haughtiness to the apex of magnificence of "thou shalt not see me"[43]—this same bird was given, with a hun-

[40]Qur'an, 15:72.
[41]Qur'an, 4:112.
[42]Qur'an, 68:4.
[43]Qur'an, 7:143.

dred thousand favors and honors, to the thumb of the Prophet: "Didst thou not look upon thy Lord?"[44] In truth, the Prophet was both the prey and the hunter. He was a bird that had arisen from the nest of "I am from God"[45] and then flown around all creation in the form of a hunter, but without opening his wings, for creation could never have encompassed his wings. He was both the bird and the seed in the trap; both the candle and the moth flying around it.

Shaikh Aḥmad Ġazālī says, may God sanctify his spirit—

In the grief of love, we grieve for ourselves;
We are distraught and bewildered because of ourselves.
We are afflicted and tried because of our fate;
We are the hunters and the prey that they hunt.

First the reins of the she-camel of kingship were given to the hands of Solomon's supplication after he had borne the hundred thousandfold toil of requesting—"O my Lord, grant kingship to me."[46] Then he was afflicted with the trial of "We placed a lifeless body upon his throne,"[47] and finally visited with the misfortune of '"Verily I loved the love of good, for the sake of remembering my Lord,' until they became hidden by the veil."[48] What indication is contained here? That he was a suppliant, and since he had been caused to enter by the gate of request, he had to traverse several straits of affliction. The Prophet, upon whom be peace, since he was the cherished of God—"He conveyed His bondsman"[49]—had the kingship of both worlds displayed to him in their totality at the station of the Lote Tree.[50] But he did not even look upon it from the corner of his eye of lofty aspiration, such

[44]Qur'an, 25:45.
[45]Part of a Tradition quoted previously on p. 61.
[46]Qur'an, 38:35.
[47]Qur'an, 38:34. The placing of a lifeless body on Solomon's throne has been variously interpreted by the commentators. Some say that it refers to the wasted state of Solomon's own body after a prolonged illness; others that it refers to a stillborn son that was the sole progeny born to Solomon after his boasting that he would impregnate all his wives with virile sons in a single night.
[48]Qur'an, 38:32. This verse refers to Solomon's horses and his love for them, a love ultimately directed to God; he caressed them until nightfall.
[49]Qur'an, 17:1.
[50]Concerning the Lote Tree, see p. 84, n. 32.

was his disdain and indifference—"His gaze swerved not nor strayed." Thus the purpose of both worlds was given to his embrace without requesting or trial—"He beheld the supreme signs of his Lord."[51]

The second aspect of the answer is that the Prophet was swift-paced: "We are the last and the foremost."[52] The stations through which all the prophets passed in the course of long lives, each remaining nonetheless in a certain station—Adam in being the chosen of God, Noah in calling to God, Abraham in friendship with God, Moses in conversing with God, Jesus in being the word of God, David in the viceregency of God, and Solomon in kingship—were all traversed by the Prophet in a short time: "They it is whom God has guided; follow then their guidance."[53] He outstripped all others—"we are the last and the foremost"—and was conveyed to stations that none before had attained. Excellences were given to him that none had been given before, as he himself said: "I was given excellence over the prophets in six things."[54] In truth, these verses are suited to him—

I am he whom none resembles in this world,
Tarrying but an instant at every station.
A path I have traversed that none other traversed—
A place where there was no place, neither in front nor behind.

As the Prophet did not delay at any station in his swift voyaging and immediately traversed it, so too he passed through the station of kingship: "I was given the choice between being a king-prophet and a poor prophet, and I chose to be a poor prophet, hungry one day and satiated the next."[55]

There is a celebrated Tradition in which the Prophet, upon whom be peace, says: "I was given the keys to the treasuries of the earth."[56] That is, "The keys to all treasuries were brought to

[51]Qur'an, 53:17.
[52]Tradition previously quoted on p. 63.
[53]Qur'an, 6:90.
[54]Part of a Tradition previously quoted on p. 153.
[55]Tradition recorded with a different wording by Ebn Ḥanbal.
[56]Tradition recorded by Bok̲ārī, Moslem, Ebn Ḥanbal.

me, and I was told, 'if thou wilt, let us turn the mountains of Mecca into gold and have them depart with thee wherever thou goest.'" There are numerous Traditions similar to this. The Prophet said: "I am the master of the sons of Adam, but take no pride in it."[57] What kingship could be greater than this? But the only purpose of this kingship was that once attained, it should be renounced and freely dispensed in God's path. It was necessary to remove its kernel and essence, and then cast away the husk. This is what the Prophet did. There are many other answers to the question concerning kingship, but we restrict ourselves to these to avoid prolixity.

It has then become established that monarchy and kingship constitute a great means for drawing near to the Mighty Presence. Kingship is the viceregency of God, and it is for this reason that the king is called the shadow of God, because the shadow of a thing is its viceregent. But this shadowhood and viceregency can obtain only when there is found in the viceregent a specimen of the attributes of the One Who appointed him. It is for this reason that the Prophet said in explanation of the expression "shadow of God," "Every oppressed one seeks refuge in him." That is, he is to be the place of refuge for all the oppressed so that they suffer no mistreatment at the hands of any oppressor. But whenever such mistreatment and oppression proceed from the king himself, it is no longer possible to conceive of his being the shadow of God, or attaining the rank of viceregency.

The drug causes disease; what hope is there here
For the cure of the sickness and the health of the patient?

Our meaning is this, that when the king acts according to God's command, shuns subordination to caprice, brings his subjects into the refuge of his own auspicious fortune, the fortress of his watchfulness and the fold of his polity, fulfilling through kingship all his duties of service to God, then he becomes fit to be God's viceregent, and he becomes too the choice part of creation, for the purpose of creation is the mystery of viceregency: "Verily I am about to make a viceregent upon earth."[58]

[57]Tradition previously quoted on p. 174.
[58]Qur'an, 2:30.

But if the king engages in oppression and tyranny, in subordination to caprice and the defiance of God, then he becomes the form of God's wrath and anger. He will be the Eblīs of his age and deserving of eternal anathema: "Verily God's curse is upon the oppressors."[59]

God's blessings be upon Moḥammad and his family.

[59]Qur'an, 7:44.

Second Chapter:

Concerning the State of Kings and Their Conduct toward Each Group of Their Subjects, and Their Solicitude for the People

God Almighty said: "Verily God commands justice and doing good and generosity to kinsfolk, and He forbids abomination, evil, and wrongdoing."[1]

The Prophet, upon whom be peace and blessings, said: "The one among God's bondsmen who is given the best rank in the sight of God on the Day of Resurrection will be the just and gentle imam; and the one among God's bondsmen who is given the worst rank in the sight of God on the Day of Resurrection will be the unjust and harsh imam."[2]

Know that the king has three states: a state with respect to his own soul; a state with respect to his subjects; and a state with respect to his God. In each of these three states, three things are enjoined on him by the Mighty Presence and three things are forbidden him. Justice, doing good, and generosity to kinsfolk are enjoined on him; abomination, evil, and wrongdoing are forbidden him.

As for the first state—the state of the king with respect to his own soul—justice lies in his equipping the soul with the affirmation of God's unity; doing good, in his performing religious obligations; and generosity to kinsfolk, in respecting the rights of his limbs and members, in obstinately opposing his soul, in watching over his heart, and in guarding his outer and inner senses. He will then be able to use all of these in accordance with the command that has been given him, and to restrain them from that which has been forbidden him. The forbidden consists of abomination, evil, and wrongdoing, in deed, word, and inner state, of all that is reprehensible, unfitting, and disapproved. From it there arise darkness, veiling, and remoteness from God, and there result reprehensible attributes like lying,

[1]Qur'an, 16:90.
[2]Tradition recorded by Termeẕī, Nasā'ī, and Ebn Ḥanbal.

backbiting, slandering, cursing, fornication, lewdness and turpitude, oppression, and so forth.

Unless the king first be truly king of himself, he cannot properly exercise kingship over others in such a way as not to cause harm, although there are many people who may be truly king of themselves without being able to exercise true kingship over others. For kingship over others is the deputyship and vice-regency of God, and second only to prophethood; than it, there is no greater task. Thus the Prophet, upon whom be peace, said: "The one among God's bondsmen who is given the best rank in the sight of God on the Day of Resurrection will be the just and gentle imam; and the one among God's bondsmen who is given the worst rank in the sight of God on the Day of Resurrection will be the unjust and harsh imam." Indeed, God Almighty has threaded obedience to a just king together on a single string with obedience to Himself and obedience to His messenger: "Obey God, and obey the Messenger and the holders of authority from among you."[3]

Know in truth that until the king is truly king of himself, he will never be able to exercise true kingship over others, in accordance with God's command. His state may be compared to that of one who, unable to swim in the sea well enough to save himself from the whirlpool, wishes to prevent others from drowning. It is an impossibility.

The king's kingship over himself consists of binding with the fetters of God's command his limbs and his members, his soul and his heart, his outer and inner senses, these being his true subjects. He should set each to work in servitude to God and in the service that has been enjoined on it; cause it to desist from the forbidden, through the chastisement of the Law; and change the attribute of the soul from commanding to commanded, through the elixir of the Law, as was described in the chapter on the refinement of the soul. In addition, he should discipline his heart to shun all that is familiar to instinctual nature and approved by caprice, and direct it to the Divine Presence, in order to receive the effusion of God's grace and be strengthened with divine support.

[3]Qur'an, 4:58.

Then, with dominical power and heavenly support, he may embark on kingship, acting as God's deputy among His servants and enacting the ordinances of monarchy in his kingdom in accordance with God's command, so that by virtue of every action, effort, and endeavor that he undertakes in this fashion, he may gain a further degree of nearness, elevation, and high rank in God's mighty presence.

As for the second state—the state of the king with respect to his subjects—justice means here the dispensing of justice and equity, refraining from tyranny, and maintaining equilibrium among his subjects, so that the strong do not oppress the weak, nor the wealthy impose burdens on the poor.

Doing good consists of conveying to his subjects the effects of his generosity and munificence, through strengthening the weak; acting with forbearance to the strong; supporting the poor and indigent with gifts of charity and allowances; providing for arriving and departing travelers; maintaining the dignity of the scholars of religion and supplying them with the means of subsistence; encouraging students in the acquisition of learning and aiding them with the essentials of life; treating with respect and reverence the pious, the ascetic, and the devotee, being solicitous of their welfare and counting it an occasion of good fortune to supply any need they may have; and seeking out hermits and recluses, aiding them with lawful monies, even though they may not seek or desire this, and assuring their peace of mind, so that they may occupy themselves with God in tranquillity and concentration. For the world subsists through the blessing of their breath and their sincere devotion, and they have the right to a share in the public treasury which it is incumbent to bestow upon them, even though they may not seek or desire it, on account of their dignity and high aspiration. Whoever does not grant them their right is an oppressor and great sinner.

As for generosity to kinsfolk, this consists of respecting the rights of all subjects, for subjects stand in a relation of kinship to the king; indeed, they take the place of his family and kinsfolk. The injunction of the Prophet, upon whom be peace, at the

end of his life was: "Be solicitous for prayer, and those whom your right hand possesses."[4] That is, "Maintain regular prayer and treat well those in your keeping."

Every act of beneficence, doing good, equity, justice, succor, generosity, forbearance, magnanimity, sound policy, and protection that the king undertakes strengthens with its nobility the monarchy's ties of kinship, and is a firm support for the stability and permanence of the kingdom. Thus the Prophet, upon whom be peace, said: "Justice and kingship are twins."[5]

Every good practice that a king establishes in his realm, to give ease to his subjects and tranquillity to his people, as well as his removal of any evil innovation, belongs to the same category of laudable act. In addition, if other monarchs follow his good practice, and perpetuate and maintain those means for easing the lot of the people, the reward for it shall be entered in the king's register of good deeds, until the end of all time. But if on the contrary—may God forbid!—an oppressor establishes some evil innovation and institutes a practice that did not previously exist or restores one that another king had abolished; and if he is then followed in his innovation and imitated in his practice—then the punishment for all this shall be entered in the innovating oppressor's register of deeds until the end of time. Thus the Prophet, upon whom be peace, said: "Whoever establishes a good practice has the reward for it and the reward of whoever acts according to it until the Day of Resurrection; and whoever establishes an evil practice bears the burden of it and the burden of whoever acts according to it until the Day of Resurrection."[6]

In truth, it is incumbent upon the just king to abolish any evil custom that may have been established in previous ages, to repel any oppression or injustice visited on the people, and to lighten any heavy tax imposed on those incapable of bearing it. Let him not find it an acceptable excuse to say, "I found matters thus," or, "the blame is his who started the custom." For indeed the one who started the custom is to blame, but he too will be held

[4]Tradition recorded by Ebn Māja and Ebn Ḥanbal.
[5]Tradition of dubious status.
[6]Tradition recorded by Moslem, Nasā'ī, and Ebn Ḥanbal.

responsible for maintaining and consenting to the oppression and evil innovation. Furthermore, the king is like a shepherd, and his subjects are like a flock. It is incumbent on the shepherd to protect his flock from the wolf and to strive to repel the wolf's evil. If the flock contains both horned rams and ewes without horns, the ram will wish to oppress the ewe and transgress against it; this evil too the shepherd must prevent.

Now the wolf threatening the flock of Islam consists of the accursed unbelievers, who have become extremely powerful in this age. It is incumbent on the king, and his commanders and troops, to strive with all their souls to repel the evil of the unbelievers, for the bread and water they consume will become licit only when they draw the sword against the unbelievers and repel their evil. Even if the unbelievers cause no trouble, it is incumbent on the king to go forth in war, to conquer the lands of unbelief and make Islam prevail, and to strive to elevate the word of religion—"so that God's word might be the supreme."[7]

Similarly, the horned rams in the flock are strong oppressors drawn from the commanders and troops, the officials of state and holders of posts, the deputies and appointees of the king, the tax collectors, headmen, and judges, as well as the libertine rabble and scum. Whenever they find the opportunity, they aspire to harass and dominate others, in accordance with the power and pomp that they hold and the means and instruments at their disposal.

The king must not abandon his subjects to the mercy of these people, but instead investigate constantly the state of each group. For on the Day of Resurrection he will be called to account, in the minutest detail, for the affairs of his subjects, and the good and evil they have experienced. Thus the Prophet, upon whom be peace, said: "Each of you is a shepherd, and each will be called to account for his flock. Thus the prince is a shepherd for his subjects, and will be called to account for them."[8]

[7]Qur'an, 9:41.
[8]Tradition recorded by Bokārī, Moslem, Abū Dā'ūd, Termeẕī, and Ebn Ḥanbal.

As for the abomination, evil, and wrongdoing of the king toward his subjects, it consists of his living among them in lewdness and turpitude; impelling them to corruption; coveting their children—God forbid!—for corrupt ends; and bringing disgrace upon their families. Then in his age the people of corruption will be fortified, and the task of enjoining the good and forbidding the evil will suffer, for none will be able to enjoin the good. The market of the people of religion, knowledge, and righteousness will become sluggish, and that of the people of lewdness, oppression, and corruption will become brisk.

The low and the base, the insinuator and the slanderer, the corrupter and oppressor, the ruthless and the cunning, will then enter the king's service, and adorn oppression and corruption in his sight with the garment of true interest for the sake of their own corrupt ends. Pretending to be friends of the king and anxious for his well-being, and claiming that their concern is the increase of his revenue and treasury, they establish innovative practices in the realm; impose dues and increase taxes; farm out existing tax collectorships and institute new ones; and start farming out posts that were formerly free of this practice. Invoking pretexts against the people, they confiscate and extort; falsely accusing the innocent, they exact fines from them. They levy taxes in kind and impose collective charges, unjustly and improperly,[9] and deal corruptly with bequests and the property of orphans. They impose imposts and sales taxes on the merchants and levy tolls on the highways. They administer the endowments corruptly, holding back what is due to the deserving, and embezzle the pensions, grants, and emoluments[10] of imams,[11] *sayyeds*,[12] ascetics, devotees, dervishes, and righteous worshippers, attempting to nullify works of charity. They keep the needy away from the court, failing to submit an account of

[9]Taxes in kind and collective charges: the probable meaning of two obscure terms: *qasamāt* and *towzī'āt*. See I. P. Petrushevskiy, *Zemledelie i Agrarnye Otnosheniya v Irane XIII–XIV vv.* (Moscow and Leningrad, 1960), pp. 84, 97.

[10]Pensions *(edrārāt)*: sums of money paid by the monarch to deserving servants of the state, inherited in perpetuity by their descendants. Grants *(anẓār)*: evidently an award of money given once only, in recognition of some particular service. Emoluments *(ma'āš)*: noninheritable pensions. (See Petrushevskiy, *Zemledelie*, pp. 269–270).

[11]Imams: here, the leaders of congregational prayer in the mosques.

[12]*Sayyeds:* descendants of the Prophet.

their state to the king, and prevent his charitable and pious gifts, his presents and donations, from reaching the deserving.

All this will incur disrepute for the king with respect to both religion and worldly affairs, and carry the fame of his oppression, lewdness, and miserliness to the ends of the earth. He will become known among men for evil disposition and oppressiveness, and this reputation will remain attached to him until the end of the world. The gate of the people's imprecations and curses will be open for him during his life and after his death.

Whatever evil those corrupters succeed in adorning in his sight, through their friendship with him and proximity to his presence, and whatever corrupt purposes they attain, the king will be called to account for on the Day of Resurrection, which is the day of the supreme review, in the slightest particular; and he will be rewarded and requited for each atom's weight of good and evil: "Whoever does an atom's weight of good shall see it, and whoever does an atom's weight of evil shall see it."[13]

> The rise of kings is followed by a fall, beware!
> There is awe of you in each trembling heart, beware!
> Take not even an apple unjustly from the people, beware!
> There is an accounting for that apple, beware!

In truth, all these intimate companions of kings who embolden them to commit oppression; who adorn the accumulation of wealth in their sight so that they exert themselves in gathering wealth without distinction between licit and illicit; who shed the blood of the poor and store up sin and guilt, only for all their riches to be suddenly destroyed, through accident or death, leaving only ill-repute in this world and the hereafter—such men are the mortal enemies of kings even though they claim to be their friends. If the king be of fortunate destiny and possessed of insight, he will not admit to his presence a single one of these corrupters and men of evil character.

But not all have this insight. Because of their extreme greed for this world and their love of wealth, the people of this age generally admit to their company vile ruffians of evil origin, and

[13]Qur'an, 99:7–8.

deprive themselves of the company of the accomplished, the noble and the intelligent, the men of learning and the overseers of craftsmen,[14] advisers, and counselors who urge to good deeds. When, all too rarely, such a person is to be found in the presence of a king, he will be disregarded, despised, and ignored. For a group of malevolent slanderers will insinuate that he is unconcerned with the increase of revenue, that he is striving to deplete the treasury, and that he is lacking in firmness and competence.

The wise, felicitous, and divinely supported king is he who, gazing on the circumstances of the age with the light of royal discernment, sees that this stinking and treacherous hag, this faithless swindler, has married since the firmament began turning, and shall continue to marry until the end of all time, thousands of beauteous youths, each as fresh as the spring, and each of whom with one hand she draws into her embrace, with myriad joyous enticements, while with the other hand she unsheathes the dagger of wrath. What head did she find lying on her pillow that she did not sever? What stomach did she fill that she did not tear open? One who knew her true nature said:

> Whoever gives his heart to thee laughs at himself
> For preferring no other darling to thee, worthless wretch.
> If with thy coquetry thou winnest some *nouveau riche* love,
> What cloaks he will stitch for thee, what belts girdle on!
> Wert thou not naught other than life, thy heart I would seize,
> And make one eye of thine weep, while the other one laughed!

What friend did she summon that she did not expel by the door of enmity? What beloved did she caress that she did not melt in abasement? What wretch did she make a prince that did not end as a prisoner? Whom did she make a minister of the realm that she did not overturn and confound like the affairs of the realm? Whom did she seat on the throne of kingship that she did not upset like the chessboard with the king?

[14]Overseers of craftsmen *(aṣḥāb-e boyūtāt):* literally, "those in charge of government factories." See Heribert Horst, *Die Staatsverwaltung der Grosssel-ǧūqen und Horazmšāhs* (Wiesbaden, 1964), p. 26.

If the king observes, with the eye of admonishment, the treachery of the transient world and the faithlessness of the cunning firmament, then its rope of deceit will not draw him into the pit, nor will the allurements of two days' fleeting pomp, wealth, and bounty lead him astray. He will know for certain that just as the world did not keep faith with others, neither will it with him, and so he will not wrong himself and God's creatures for the sake of this borrowed abode. It is not worth harming an ant for the sake of this whole faithless world; why then should the intelligent offend God and men for the sake of it?

O king, hear now an abundance from this indigent one,
  For truth can sometimes be had from a liar.
Have shame, and seek no more to vex men.
  For the sake of one faithless, worthless, and vile.
Ugly it is to harm an ant for the sake of the world's wealth,
  But how fine if that wealth, once gained, were to last!
If this world were not thus faithless a murderer,
  Adam and Eve would still rule over the globe.
Alexander took the world from Darius, then lost it,
  For Darius would yet be king, were rule everlasting!
Where now are all the kings of Iran and Turan
  From the awe of whose swords Gemini stood girded
    to serve?
Wisdom would say, looking on their battles and banquets,
  That the world was an ocean filled with their troops
    and their treasure.
But the dark earth would tell you clearly the state of
    each king,
  And all would be made known to you, if the earth could
    but speak!
Whoever did good, his good name remains,
  And whoever did evil, he is disgraced in the world.
If you heard told the tale of ancient kings and their fate,
  It would serve you as warning, but there is none here
    to tell it.
That which the heedless looks on tomorrow,
  The wise sees today, with the seeing eye of his heart.
Since tomorrow all will reap what they have sown,
  They could sow better today if they but wished.

Today men have no care for the affairs of the world;
Alas! would that they had care for the affairs of religion!

As for the third state, which is that of the king with respect to his God, here justice consists of making the outer and inner aspects of his being conformable to each other before God, and in causing the hidden and the apparent to coincide; and in girding on kingship and monarchy like a belt for God's service, so that he maintains himself and his kingship for the sake of God, rather than desiring God and kingship for his own sake.

Doing good is that of which the Prophet, upon whom be peace, spoke: "Doing good is that you should worship God as if you saw Him, for if you do not see Him, verily He sees you."[15] It is not the proper mode of devotion for a king that he should busy himself with supererogatory worship, such as prayer, fasting, and reading the Qur'an, and spend most of his time in solitude and seclusion, thus neglecting the interests of the people, depriving the needy, remaining unaware of the well-being or corruption of the kingdom, and abandoning his subjects to the control of oppressors. Indeed, this is a sin greater than all others. The proper mode of devotion for a king is rather this, that after fulfilling all obligatory duties of worship and those that are Sunna, he should attend to the affairs of his kingdom, investigate the state of his lands and his subjects, enforce the rights of Islam and the Muslims, and so act with respect to God's bondsmen and the ordinances of kingship as if he were looking upon God. For if he does not have the power of such vision, let him know for certain that God is looking upon him. Then all that he does will be in accordance with God's command, and kept pure of all taint of passion and instinctual nature, so that each act he performs will become a step taken in wayfaring toward God, and the means for a degree of nearness and elevation in the Dominical Presence.

As for generosity to kinsfolk, this consists of maintaining the tie of affinity with servitude. The king should not raise his head an instant from the threshold of servitude, nor become vain on account of the figurative kingship of this world: "Let not the life

[15]Tradition previously quoted on p. 294.

of this world deceive you, nor let the Archdeceiver deceive you about God."[16] Nor should he look upon himself and his kingdom with the eye of arrogance, like the pharaoh who said: "Is it not mine, this kingdom of Egypt, and the rivers that flow at my feet?"[17] Rather, in helplessness, humility, and wretchedness, he should constantly cling to the threshold of servitude. As has been said:

> Draw not away from His dwelling, O heart filled with pain,
> Though I know this desert is no place for thy foot.
> Sever thy head of suffering over the sill of His threshold,
> For the forecourt in the palace of splendor is no place for thee.

Let him not reply on Maḥmūdian monarchy, but be instead the Ayāz of the age, gazing upon the sheepskin cloak of indigence.[18]

As for abomination, evil, and wrongdoing, they consist here of the pride and arrogance of kingship and the haughtiness and vainglory of monarchy, which inevitably appear in the brain of kings as a result of perceiving their own freedom from need, together with the great need that others have of them. This is a spiritual sickness that only skilled physicians who are aware of the temperament of the soul and the heart can cure. If this evil sickness is not cured, rebellion against God may result from it. Thus God Almighty said: "Truly man transgresses all bounds when he sees himself sufficient unto himself."[19] And elsewhere He said: "Were God to spread out provision for his bondsmen, truly they would transgress upon earth."[20]

Let the king know for certain that as soon as a bondsman of God looks upon himself with the eye of the wealth, self-

[16]Qur'an, 31:33.
[17]Qur'an, 43:51.
[18]Concerning Maḥmūd and Ayāz, see p. 48, n. 28. It is said that Ayāz kept an old sheepskin cloak in a special chamber and would occasionally visit it to remind himself of the poverty that had been his before receiving the royal favor. See the story as told in the fifth book of Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī's *Maṣnavī*, IV:5, pp. 130ff.
[19]Qur'an, 96:6.
[20]Qur'an, 42:27.

sufficiency and mightiness of monarchy, the sickness of arrogance and tyranny will appear in his brain; and when he looks upon God's creatures with the eye of contempt and disdain, he will immediately fall from the gaze of God's grace. The Prophet, upon whom be peace, said: "None shall enter the Garden in whose heart is an atom's weight of pride." They asked: "O Messenger of God, what is pride?" He said: "Looking on men with contempt, and turning from God."[21]

The cure for this evil is that whenever the king's peacocklike soul gazes upon its wings of kingship and monarchy and, taking pleasure in them, desires to fly off to the realm of arrogance and tyranny, he should look at his black feet of helplessness and impermanence and recall his own origins: "Did We not create you from a vile liquid?"[22] He will see that in the beginning he was a lowly drop of liquid, and in the end will be a lowly handful of dust, and that meanwhile he is prisoner to a mouthful of food and a drop of water, without any control of how these pass through him, so that if they are blocked up within him he will be content to renounce the kingship of both worlds for the sake of relief. And with all this, each moment he anticipates the coming of fate's flood totally to destroy the ruined traces of life's house, from which the rotation of the heavens, with the succession of night and day, has been removing one brick after the other. What cause is there for pride in such a state, and what reliance can be placed on such fortune?

For God's sake, what hope causes the wise
  To rely on the fortune of this luckless abode?
The moment one wishes to sit at his ease,
  Fate takes his hand and tells him, "Arise!"

As for the conduct of kings toward each group of their subjects and their solicitude for the people, know that the king is to the world what the heart is to the body. When the king is sound, the whole world will be sound; and if the king be corrupt, the whole world will be corrupt. Thus the Prophet, upon whom be peace, said concerning the heart: "There is in the son of Adam a

[21]Tradition recorded by Moslem, Abū Dā'ūd, Ebn Māja, and Ebn Ḥanbal.
[22]Qur'an, 77:20.

piece of flesh which if it be sound, causes the rest of the body to be sound; and if it be corrupt, causes the rest of the body to be corrupt. That piece of flesh is the heart."[23] It was for this reason too that he said: "People follow the religion of their kings."[24]

The minister is to the king what the intellect is to the heart. Just as the heart cannot dispense with a perfect intellect, to consult in ruling the realm of the body and administering its interests, both general and particular, so too the king cannot dispense with a learned, just, equitable, perspicacious, efficient, trustworthy, alert, experienced, skilled, high-minded, intelligent, generous, good-natured, pious, Godfearing, truly believing, and compassionate minister, whom he may consult in all matters, general and particular, and to whom the pillars of state, the deputies of the royal presence, and the common subjects may all have recourse.

> Entrust matters always to the wise
>   So that thy affair may be fair-seeming.
> For the wise are capable of every task,
>   And time itself gives the bridle to the wise.
> It is from the wise the heart wins tranquillity—
>   None ever gained his heart's desire from the fool.
> Thus did I read in Zoroaster's book,
>   That the wise of a certainty go to Paradise.

When the minister has these qualities, the king, in tranquillity and prosperity, can busy himself with conquest and all that constitutes the conditions and customs of monarchy. But if the king has to undertake rule and the tasks that properly belong to his minister, he will be unable to engage in conquest or to preserve the conditions and prestige of monarchy, and the affairs of the realm and its subjects will be damaged. Thus the Prophet, upon whom be peace, said: "When God wishes good for a king, He appoints for him a righteous minister, so that if he forgets, he reminds him; and if he remembers, he aids him."[25] If the minister is deserving, the king should treat him with respect and dignity,

[23]Tradition previously quoted on p. 201.
[24]Tradition; see Forūzānfar, *Aḥādīṣ-e Maṣnavī*, p. 28.
[25]Tradition recorded by Abū Dā'ūd and Beyhaqī.

and ensure that his command is fulfilled throughout the kingdom. However, the king should still supervise him, so that he is aware of all that happens in the realm, to low and high alike.

So too with all the other pillars of state, such as the comptroller of finances,[26] the supervisor,[27] the inspector,[28] the muster-master,[29] the clerk, the chamberlain, the treasurer, the majordomo, and all the other officials: they are like the five senses (the eye, the ear, the tongue, the nose, and the tactile sense), common sense, and the human faculties (thinking, imagining, understanding, memorizing, remembering, and the other faculties). The army commanders are like the head, the hands, the feet, and the other main organs—the liver, the lungs, the spleen, the bile, and so forth. The deputies, the tax collectors, the marshals,[30] and other officials are like the fingers, the joints, the intestines, and so forth; and the rest of the common soldiery and the subjects, with their differing ranks, are like the veins, the nerves, the bones, the hairs, the muscles, and all else that goes to make up the body. Just as a human being needs all of these, so that if one member is lacking his whole person will be deficient, so too the king needs all these classes of men. If one of them is lacking the kingdom will be correspondingly deficient, even though this may not be apparent.

The king must, then, appoint and empower the members of each of these classes at the proper rank and station, having examined and established their aptitude, trustworthiness, piety, and soundness of character. He must be aware of their doings, so that they do not become bold and impudent or covetous. He

[26]Comptroller of finances *(mostowfī):* the chief figure in the civil administration, after the minister. For a precise description of his duties, see 'Abbās Eqbāl, *Vezārat dar 'ahd-e salāṭīn-e bozorg-e Saljūqī* (Tehran, 1338 Š./1959), pp. 26–28.

[27]Supervisor *(mošref):* the head of the *dīvan-e ešrāf,* a body charged with the auditing of financial transactions, thus complementing the functions of the *mostowfī* (Eqbāl, *Vezārat,* pp. 31–32).

[28]Inspector *(nāẓer):* a treasury official concerning whose duties little is known. See Moḥammad b. Hendūšāh Naḵčevānī, *Dastūr al-kāteb fī ta'yīn al-marāteb,* ed. A. A. Ali-zade (Moscow, 1964), I:1, pp. 299, 368.

[29]Muster-master *('āreż):* the official responsible for equipping the army, furnishing it with provender and supplies, and paying the troops (Eqbāl, *Vazārat,* p. 32).

[30]Marshals *(noqabā):* the chiefs, in various cities, of the descendants of 'Alī (Naḵčevānī, *Dastūr al-kāteb,* I:1, p. 46).

should render them in full whatever is their stipend, fief, and emolument, so that they do not commit treachery through pressing need. He should not listen to their words concerning each other, except with clear proof and then with great caution, for some will enviously portray the trustworthy as treacherous, impute treason to the solicitous, and falsely accuse the devoted.

If a devoted servant commits a minor offense, one that does not cause great harm, let the king exercise royal clemency. He should not be angered easily, nor command excessive punishment. If there is a crime that cannot be overlooked, let him recite "The requital of an evil deed is one like unto it,"[31] and constantly set before his eyes the verse: "Those who suppress their anger and forgive men—verily God loves the doers of good."[32] But let not laxity, carelessness, and feebleness of temperament be imputed to him, for then the people of mischief and corruption will become bold, and all kinds of corruption will appear in men's brains.

The king should, on the contrary, be celebrated for his strictness in punishing and taking revenge, for manly honor and zeal. In the case of lesser crimes, he should intimidate and threaten their authors, having recourse to arguments and good advice, then exercise forbearance and forgive them. In the case of a crime that calls for requital or entails harm for the kingdom, he should by no means overlook the offense, but rather bring down on its author the pitiless sword, in accordance with God's law. For such crimes—may God forbid their occurrence!—are like a consuming disease affecting a limb that may by no means be neglected; the affected limb must be severed by the sword, so that the disease does not infect other limbs.

In all matters the king should avoid the two extremes of deficiency and excess, for "the mean is the best in all things." In inflicting punishment he should not, on the one hand, be so zealous that the people come to fear him and flee from him, with terror and hatred gaining ascendancy over their natures and their souls becoming distraught, so that they engage in

[31] Qur'an, 42:40.
[32] Qur'an, 3:134.

wiles and stratagems, causing disturbance in the kingdom—

> Do not bring them in despair to the point
> That they make designs on thy life.[33]

Nor, on the other hand, should he exercise so much forbearance that the dignity of kingship and the awe of monarchy depart from men's hearts, so that the corrupters and the base become bold, the oppressors gain ascendancy, and matters become difficult for the righteous and sincere, the weak and the stranger, causing great harm to arise on all sides.

He should not be so extravagant in munificence that it results in prodigality, waste, and lavishness, for these are reprehensible. God Almighty has said: "Verily the lavishers are brethren unto the devils."[34] He said too: "Verily He does not love the wasteful."[35] Nor should the king be so zealous in the guarding of wealth that greed and miserliness become attributed to him, for that brings about blame and loss in this world and the hereafter. God said: "Let not those who, in their miserliness, withhold that which God has given them from His generosity, think that it is better for them. Rather it is worse for them, for that which they withheld shall be a collar around their necks on the Day of Resurrection."[36] Instead of grudging God's generosity to God's creatures, the king should earn good repute in this world and reward in the hereafter before suddenly the prince of death looses his bow, snatches him from the throne of kingship, delivers the fruit of his many years of toil into the hands of his enemies, and the fire of longing, regret, and loss flares up in his soul in such manner that no water but the water of God's mercy can extinguish it.

> This world's good fortune is indeed pleasant,
> But do not give it your heart—it kills all its lovers.
> Whomever it caresses like a king,
> It will cast down like a pawn.
> This world with its good fortune is like a mirage—

[33]A line from the *Garšāspnāma* of Asadī Ṭūsī, ed. Ḥabīb Yagmā'ī (Tehran, 1317 Š./1938), p. 360.
[34]Qur'an, 17:27
[35]Qur'an, 6:141.
[36]Qur'an, 3:180.

It entices you on, then gives you no water.
Many a king and a minister the heavens have made,
Given them kingship and treasure, a crown and a throne;
Then arranged all things at their pleasure,
And humbled all mankind before them.
Thus they became as rich as Nemrod,
And each was the pharaoh of his own age.
They sucked the blood of the poor,
And drew out the brains of the wretched.
All were busy with months and with years,
All deceived by their pomp and their wealth.
Suddenly the hurricane of wrath began blowing,
And pulled them from the throne onto the bier.
It delivered their bodies to festering clay,
And their kingdom into the hands of the enemy.
Their burden of guilt they bore off to the hereafter,
While their wealth remained here, for others to feast on.
But he whom God caressed with His favor,
Who discerned good and evil in God-given light,
He knew the difference between the light and the fire,
And gave not his heart to this abode of deceit.
He perceived what in this life has lasting effect
And hastened to righteousness for the sake of the next.
His concern was this: How from this stage
Might he move forward in joy and contentment?
All that he had—kingship, treasure, and throne—
With him he took and left not an atom behind.
When it was time to depart, then he departed,
Aided by a hundred thousand supports.

Whoever has the eye of perspicacity illumined by divine light will be able to conceive of the abandonment of transient pomp and property. The lasting, righteous deeds that are the support and aid of the believer are the righteous deeds that his body performs, and lasting acts of charity. The Prophet, upon whom be peace, said: "When a man dies, his deeds come to an end, with the exception of three: a continuing act of charity; knowledge by which men benefit; and a righteous son that prays for his good."[37]

[37]Tradition recorded by Bokarī, Moslem, Termeẕī, Abū Dā'ūd, and Nasā'ī.

What good fortune could be more wondrous than this, that while God's servant lies in his tomb, powerless to perform further deeds, each moment and instant the cherubim bring him trays of compassion and generosity from the Glorious Presence, saying: "This is the reward for the morsel eaten by some scholar of the law in a school that you founded, or some dervish in a hospice you established"; or, "This is the reward for the rest and ease that accrued to one of God's bondsmen from your pious foundations—a bridge that he crossed, the wall of a caravanserai in which he took shade, a mosque where he made two *rek'ats*[38] of prayer."

No monarch should grudge himself the acquisition of such happiness during the days of his good fortune by leaving those good works undone. For when he awakens from the sweet sleep of good fortune, money and wealth will have left his possession and he will be deprived of that felicity. But if he thus deprives himself, then beware! Let him at least not expose himself to wretchedness by annulling others' good deeds.

He should not attempt to change or adapt pious endowments by as much as an atom's weight, or accept suggestions to do so made by counselors of evil disposition and corrupt belief; for in their ignorance and unawareness, they are endangering their own blood, their life and their faith. They are unaware that no intelligent man will choose to be the object of the imprecation of several thousand wronged and oppressed ones, all of them people of virtue and righteousness; nor will any man of sound faith consider it admissible to be pursued by the aspiration of several thousand builders of pious foundations.

Suppose that a pious foundation in some spot has found acceptance in God's view; that it has earned the spirit of its builder some degree of nearness to the Mighty Presence; and that he constantly submits a grievance to that presence, saying: "O God, I withheld my property from myself, deprived my own children of it, and devoted it to Thy bondsmen for the sake of Thy pleasure. Now such-and-such an oppressor is annulling my work of charity, depriving Thy bondsmen, and acting with

[38]*Rak'at:* a unit of prayer, ending with the second prostration.

impudence toward Thy presence. What sayest Thou?" Who can escape the consequences of such a complaint, particularly when the endowments usurped are many, and those with a claim on them numerous? We seek refuge in God from the torment of the fire!

Beware if an ignorant man or a wily scholar gives leave that money belonging to the endowments should be spent on improper purposes; if he says, for example, that it can be given to the army to be spent in war, or that it can be used to build a bridge, a caravanserai, a fortress, or a dam. God forbid! By no means can the money be spent on any of these, but only on its proper purpose. The money of each endowment should be spent on those who have a claim on it, in accordance with the conditions laid down by its founder. As for those who give unjust rulings or orders, those who mismanage the endowments, and those who are able to protect the endowments but fail to do so—they all burden themselves with sin and evil and grievances, for tomorrow all those with a claim on the endowments will become their enemies and demand justice.

It is incumbent on the king that he should maintain every endowment in his kingdom for the benefit of those that have a claim on it, in accordance with the conditions laid down by its founder, and that he appoint a pious, solicitous, and qualified trustee for all the endowments who shall strive to make them prosper. He should also shorten the hand of the oppressor and the usurper, and give the deserving their due. When he does this, God Almighty will give him the same reward that He gives to the founders of the endowments.

This feeble one once heard in Damascus that King Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn[39]—may God's mercy be upon him—had the habit of establishing some charitable institution in every city that he captured. When he captured the land of Egypt, he said to his minister, Qāżī Fāżel,—may God's mercy be upon him—"I wish to build a hospice here." The *qāżī* said: "I wish the monarch of Islam to build a thousand charitable institutions in the land of Egypt."

[39]Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn (Saladin): the great warrior who took Jerusalem from the Crusaders and restored it to Islamic rule. He died in 589/1193.

Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn asked him: "How is that possible?" The *qāżī* replied: "More than a thousand charitable institutions have been built in the land of Egypt, and their endowments have suffered great damage. If the monarch of Islam commands that these endowments be restored to prosperity, removed from the control of usurpers and entrusted to a pious trustee so that the income from them can be properly spent, he will gain reward for all this, and it will be as if he himself had founded the institutions." Salāḥ al-Dīn gave orders that this should be done.

It should be known for certain that God Almighty will call a king to account for any damage that the endowments have suffered during his rule. Let kings not imagine this great task to be slight, and let them be careful not to sin in this matter.

It is also necessary that the king, out of concern for his people, should appoint at the entrance to his court a chamberlain or receiver of petitions, a trustworthy and pious man of correct belief, who shall submit to him the circumstances of the oppressed and the needy, by way of petition or message. The king should regard it as an important task and duty to alleviate their need, and also consider it an opportunity to earn reward for himself.

It is incumbent on the king, wherever there is a frontier with the infidels, to appoint a manly, brave, courageous, experienced, battle-tested, and pious commander, imbued with ardor and jealous for the honor of Islam, with a complete army under him, and to supply him fully with provisions and fiefs. Then let the king command that they should not rest for a single night, but spend all day in warfare and *jehād*. If they need assistance, the king should order that it be sent to them, so that they are continually powerful, victorious, and happy of heart. For each victory that is won the king should dispatch new favors, honors, and gifts to secure their devotion, so that thus encouraged and supported, they may sacrifice their lives in striving to subdue and uproot the enemies of religion.

The army must not be heedless and neglectful, so that the infidels gain dominance and attack the lands of Islam, on each

occasion putting to death and capturing several thousands of Muslims, and carrying off into bondage their kinsfolk, families, and children. For the king of the age is responsible for preventing all this, and he must answer for whatever occurs.

It is also incumbent upon the king, whenever he sends a magistrate or governor to a city or province, to ensure that the one he sends is an intelligent, discerning, and pious person, in whom the skill to govern, religiosity, and generosity are all present, so that he may suitably fulfill the conditions of his task. It must not be an oppressor who constantly spills the blood of the subjects, or someone heedless who neglects their interests.

Further, when the king sends a judge to a city or province, he must send one who is learned, intelligent, pious, and righteous; who does not covet the property of orphans, or bequests, endowments, bribes, and the like; and who has upright, reliable, and pious servants, free of bias and partiality in the cases they handle, and not inclined by covetousness to making the right wrong, and the wrong, right. Such an aim is extremely difficult of attainment in this age, for the post of judge is generally given on account of some service rendered, not on account of suitability; and whoever renders a service inevitably expects a service in return.

In summary, if the king investigates the state of each group, and is aware of the deeds of every official and holder of authority, and if concern for Islam lays hold of the skirt of his soul, so that injustice and oppression do not occur in his realm, matters will soon be restored to their proper state, and men of evil conduct will be reformed, for "people follow the religion of their kings."[40] But if he spends his life in heedlessness; if he is a prisoner to caprice, passion, and momentary pleasure; and if he has no care for his subjects—then the oppressors will swiftly win dominance, and holders of office will begin usurping property and depriving the needy; the infidels will gain the upper hand and keep the Muslims distraught; unjust blood will be shed; the property of strangers and merchants will be exposed to ruin; corruption will become manifest; and varieties of calamity and disorder will appear that no words can describe.

[40]Tradition, see n. 24 above.

The guilt for all this shall be on the head of the oppressive and impious king. It is for this reason that the Prophet, upon whom be peace, said: "The one among God's servants who is given the worst rank in the sight of God on the Day of Resurrection will be the unjust and harsh imam."[41] Beggary is a thousand times superior to such kingship, for the Prophet says: "There is no shepherd who fails to surround his flock with devoted concern, but is taken by the nose and cast by God into the fire."[42] He also says: "There is no chief of a tribe but is brought forth on the Day of Resurrection with his hand fettered to his neck; then it is either released by his justice or held there by his injustice."[43] Every ascent has a corresponding descent: just as there is no rank loftier or nobler than that of kingship when it is properly exercised, its profit being that indicated by the Prophet in his saying: "There is none better in rank than the imam who says the truth when he speaks, who does justice when he judges, and who is merciful when asked for mercy,"[44] so too the loss to be had from kingship is correspondingly great.

And God's blessings be upon Moḥammad and his family.

[41]Part of the Tradition quoted at the beginning of the chapter.
[42]Tradition recorded, with a somewhat different wording, by Bok̲ārī.
[43]Tradition recorded by Ebn Ḥanbal and Dāremī.
[44]Tradition recorded by Bag̲avī.

Third Chapter:
Concerning the Wayfaring of Ministers, Men of the Pen, and Deputies

God Almighty said: "(Moses said): 'And appoint for me a minister from among my people, Aaron my brother, and strengthen my back with him.'"[1]

The Prophet, upon whom be the peace and blessings of God, said: "When God wishes good for a king, He appoints for him a righteous minister, so that if he forgets he reminds him, and if he remembers, he aids him."[2]

Know that the position of minister is an appurtenance of kingship and the supreme pillar of the realm, and no king can dispense with a righteous, intelligent, solicitous, efficacious, and sagacious minister, both learned and given to applying his learning. It is only God's kingship—may His glory be magnified!—that has no need of minister or counselor, for His glorious presence has no peer, like, or equal. All the prophets, upon whom be peace, needed a minister and counselor. Thus, God Almighty relates concerning Moses, upon whom be peace, that he requested a minister from His majestic presence—"and appoint for me a minister";[3] that is, "bestow upon me a minister who will grant me support." The Prophet said: "I have two ministers in the heavens, and two upon earth. My ministers in the heavens are Gabriel and Michael and my ministers upon earth are Abū Bakr and 'Omar."[4]

If the kingdom lacks an accomplished and respected minister, it will have no splendor or adornment. The kingdom is like a tent: the pole upholding it is the intelligent minister, and the ropes are the commanders, lesser or greater, just as some ropes are bigger and others are smaller. The troops are the small ropes on the edge of the tent that are formed into rings, and the

[1]Qur'an, 20:31.
[2]Tradition previously quoted on p. 423.
[3]Qur'an, 20:31.
[4]Tradition recorded by Termeẕī.

deputies, tax collectors, and other officials are like the ropes that are attached to the side of the tent. The pegs of the tent that are needed for its stability are in truth the justice and equity of the king, for even though there may be numerous commanders, ministers, and troops, and much power and might, equipment and provisions, still the kingdom will enjoy permanence and stability only through justice. So too a tent, although it has all the necessary poles and ropes, cannot stand firm without pegs. If a peg is missing in one corner, the whole tent will be affected. Thus the Prophet, upon whom be peace, said: "A kingdom can last despite unbelief, but it cannot last despite oppression."[5]

Since the minister is like the pole for the tent of the realm, the more elevated he is and the more lofty are his powers, the greater will be the splendor and adornment of the tent of the realm on account of him. The minister must also have four qualities like the pole: straightness, loftiness, steadfastness, and endurance.

Now the minister has three states: the first, that between himself and God; the second, that between himself and the king; and the third, that between himself and the troops and the subjects. In each state he must exercise the four qualities, in a manner appropriate to each.

Thus in the first state, that between himself and God, he should practice straightness in the sense that God Almighty commands: "Be thou straight as thou hast been commanded."[6] That is, "walk straight on the highway of the Law," this being the straight path according to God's saying: "This is My path, the straight, so follow it."[7] He should constantly seek God's pleasure in all that he does, and avoid concern for making his deeds appear straight to men while neglecting God's pleasure, for this is the beginning of all crookedness. Rather, he should make all his deeds straight with God and not grieve if they become crooked with men, for "whoever is for God, God is for him."[8]

[5]Tradition of unknown status.
[6]Qur'an, 11:112.
[7]Qur'an, 6:153.
[8]Tradition; see Forūzānfar, *Aḥādīs̱-e Mas̱navī*, p. 19.

As for loftiness, he should practice this quality through having lofty aspiration, and not being seduced by the power and wealth of the world or stooping to gaze on its carcass.

What is this world, and its people and love?
  A dungheap full of dogs and carrion.
Rich and poor alike, if deceived by it,
  Are happy like a dreamer musing on wealth.[9]

The minister should regard the power and wealth of the world as provisions and supplies for a journey; the succession of life's days as the months of the pilgrimage; and the coming of his appointed term as the season of pilgrimage and the day of standing at Arafat;[10] and he should consider himself as journeying to God's house. He should know for certain that he has been given provisions and supplies to enable him to traverse the desert of the attributes of the commanding soul, for the veil between him and the Ka'ba of God's presence, his goal and his aim, is none other than that desert.

But if he is content with the shore of the Tigris of passion; if he settles in the Baghdad of instinctual nature; if he adorns his camels every day, and makes of the instruments and wherewithal of journeying means for the luxuries of sedentary life; if he makes himself drunk and neglectful on the wine of the passions, so that the caravans pass him by, and suddenly the pilgrimage season arrives and others perform the pilgrimage without him—then he will have naught in his hand but the wind of deprivation; naught on his head but the dust of shame; naught in his eye but the tears of longing; and naught in his heart but the fire of regret. Such is the state of the one who neglects and squanders the power and wealth of this world that can be made the means of eternal felicity, and who is content to use it for indulgence and luxury.

As for those who make of the power and wealth of this world—which are properly the means for attaining the degrees of Paradise and proximity to God—provisions and supplies for journey-

[9]Two separate lines from the *Ḥadīqat al-ḥaqīqa* of Sanā'ī (pp. 433 and 431).
[10]Concerning Arafat, see p. 187, n. 30.

ing to the India of the soul's caprice, and use it for the sake of passion and animal enjoyment, they grow ever more distant from the true aim and goal, and never behold the beauty of the Ka'ba of attainment. They do not proceed beyond the rank of "they are like beasts; rather, more erring";[11] and their allotted share is "Let them eat and indulge themselves, while false hope beguiles them; verily they will come to know!"[12]

So when a man possesses lofty aspiration, he will not be deceived by the transient allurements of the world, but rather fix his gaze on the degrees of the hereafter and its high stations, and make the power and wealth of this world means for attaining God's nearness and acceptance.

As for steadfastness, it means that the minister should have true certainty and be firm-footed in the practice of religion, not turning away from a deed to be done for God's sake out of consideration for men, or fear of their blame and reproach. He should fear no one, for the property of those chosen of God is that "They struggle in God's path and fear not the blame of any blamer."[13]

As for endurance, it means that the minister should show fortitude, patience, and endurance in bearing the burden of the trust of the Law's obligations, the same trust that the people of the heavens and earth were unable to bear: "Verily We offered the trust to the heavens and the earth and the mountains, and they refused to bear it."[14] He should not betray the trust, but keep his foot firmly planted in wayfaring on the highway of God, so that on the day when the address comes, "Verily God commands you to return trusts to their owners,"[15] he will be able proudly to enter the presence of the Owner of the trust, on the pretext of returning the trust.

With heart and soul we bore the burden of His trust,
So now without burden we go to the court of His might.

[11]Qur'an, 7:178.
[12]Qur'an, 15:3.
[13]Qur'an, 5:57.
[14]Qur'an, 33:72.
[15]Qur'an, 4:57.

We came with the darkness of the soul and of nature;
Now we go with a thousand varied lights in our soul.
Full long we were confined in the enclosure of ignorance;
See this grace, that now we go as partners in His mysteries!
Although we spent a lifetime in the darkness of caprice,
Drinking the water of life, we go now like Ḵeżr.[16]
Though we came dark and blind like the firmament,
Now we go with a hundred thousand eyes like the heavens.
In this revolution we shall reach the point of desire,
For we go with our heads rotating like the compass.

As for the second state, that between the minister and the king, again the minister should apply the same four qualities. First he should practice straightness, in the sense that his outer behavior and inner disposition toward the king should be one. He should cleanse his inner being from the pollution of treachery and deceit, and not be hypocritical in serving the king, so that he speaks according to his pleasure in his presence, exclaims "the prince spoke truly" for every good or evil thing he says or does, and follows his every whim; but then, when leaving his presence, relates his faults and begins to complain of him to everyone, so that the people start to describe him as evil, ignorant, and oppressive. Nor when he wishes for the sake of his own covetousness to commit oppression against someone should he make an excuse of the king, saying "it is his command," thus pretending to be free of all blame. All this behavior is crookedness, hypocrisy, and treachery.

Straightness, sincerity, and trustworthiness lie in this, that whatever constitutes true interest at any time, and whatever perspicacious opinion demands, the minister should present alluringly in the king's presence, and submit in the garment of the most delicate phrase at a suitable time, while fully observing the customary deference due to a king.

If the king should object to his words or seek to correct them, the minister should not rebut or refute what he says, for kings

[16]Concerning Ḵeżr, see p. 25, n. 4.

have royal insight on account of their monarchical splendor; it has been said that "the words of kings are the kings of words."[17] Rather, he should heed the king's words with the ear of contentment and not be enamored of his own words. He should regard it as incumbent upon him to ponder exhaustively on the king's words, and if any addition to them should be necessary, let him submit it in due time. In general he should not retract words spoken in truth, but let him pay attention to the proper time and occasion and the mood of the king, so that his words do not come at a time of lassitude or anger, for these act as a veil to the king's truth-seeing vision. Insofar as he is able, the minister will implant in the king's nature, through subtle stratagems, that wherein lie truth, recitude, and righteousness, thus observing the path of honesty and sincerity.

The second characteristic is that of loftiness. The minister should conduct himself in the presence of the king with lofty aspiration, not conceiving corrupt and covetous wishes through abjectness and vileness of nature, nor casting his gaze on anything. Rather, he should keep closed the door of dispersed desire, and keep himself jealous of his own dignity, and content and respectful of the property of others. For when the king observes these characteristics with the light of insight, the minister will become accepted and beloved of him, and grow in his esteem and respect. That which is desired will be amply attained, in the best fashion: his honor will increase, and his good name will be spread abroad.

The third characteristic is steadfastness. The minister must be faithful, loyal, and steadfast in the service of the king, so that if the opponents and obstinate adversaries of the king wish to seduce him, they will be unable to do so; and even though they offer him much power and wealth, he will not leave the straight path.

The fourth characteristic is endurance. The minister must have endurance and forbearance, and whatever the king says or does in a state of anger, vehemence, or fury, either toward him or another, he should accept in good grace and silence, uttering words that will quench the flame of his anger and shunning

[17]Arabic proverb; not, however, listed in al-Maydānī's *Majma 'al-amṣāl.*

words that will stir his wrath or arouse his rancor. When some event befalls the king, or he is offered provocation by an enemy, if the minister is able to make some arrangement in the matter through patience, tranquillity, wise measure, and perspicacious advice, so that the king does not have to make war and do battle and place himself in danger, let him do so, for "peace is better."[18] But if the affair be such that it can be treated only with the sharp edge of the sword and the poultice of agreement and compromise serves no purpose, and if the king be inclined to war, then let not the minister dissuade him or induce cowardice within him, for that brings fear to the heart. Especially when it is a question of war with the unbelievers, he should urge and encourage him to make war, and aid and assist him. If the king is timid and afraid, he should remove fear from his heart, imbue him with hope of God and His support, and strengthen his heart with the prospect of triumph and victory from God: "Verily God's party, they are the victorious."[19] If the army is small, let him put his trust in God, for "How many a little company hath overcome a great host, by God's leave! God is with the steadfast."[20]

In all events the minister should place before the king that wherein lies the interest of religion, the kingdom, and its subjects, without dissembling, and he should discourage him from all that is connected with corruption, guiding him instead to good deeds and assisting him in them. Thus he will have acted in accordance with the indication contained in the Tradition: "If he forgets, he reminds him; and if he remembers, he aids him."[21] When the minister is adorned with the manners and characteristics we have set forth, he will be a true support for the king, and the case will be the same as when God Almighty bestowed his favor on Moses, upon whom be peace, by appointing Aaron as his minister. Thus He said: "We shall strengthen thine arm with thy brother, and We will give power unto you both."[22]

[18]Qur'an, 4:128.
[19]Qur'an, 5:59.
[20]Qur'an, 2:249.
[21]Part of the Tradition quoted at the beginning of the chapter.
[22]Qur'an, 28:35.

As for the third state, which is that between the minister and the soldiers and subjects, in it too the minister must observe and maintain the same four qualities.

The first is straightness. Straightness is practiced toward the soldiers and subjects through showing them kindness and being constantly occupied in care and solicitude for them, so that the soldiers always have provender, equipment, and supplies, and the subjects enjoy ease and tranquillity, and no burden rests on them.

Such a state will be possible when the minister strives for the prosperity of the realm and the well-being of its agriculture, and when the king is not devoted to the accumulation of wealth. For if the affliction of greed for the accumulation of wealth appears in the king's disposition, he will inevitably begin the practice of oppression and blameworthy innovation, and reduce the salary of the army; his subjects will be ruined, and his soldiers will be left without supplies. When the subjects are ruined, the realm itself will be ruined; and when the soldiers are left without supplies, the kingdom will begin to totter. Calamities, disorders, and great damage are then to be expected, the consequences of which cannot be repaired with all the treasuries on the face of the earth. The minister must be devoted to the prosperity of the realm and its subjects, for it is only thus that the soldiers can be kept well supplied. When the soldiers are kept well supplied and contented, the kingdom can be expanded; and when kingship is firmly established, the whole world is the king's treasury.

The minister must not establish innovative practices in the kingdom in order to come closer to the king, for that is not friendship to the king, but utmost enmity: it incurs ill-repute for him in this world and chastisement in the hereafter, and the storing up of God's anger against him.

Let the minister strive rather to increase the salaries, stipends, and pensions, and to ensure that the king's charity and alms constantly reach arriving and departing travelers, and imams, ascetics, devotees, and the people of religion, for this will be a means of supporting the kingdom and perpetuating the mon-

archy, as well as gaining nearness and degrees of ascent in the hereafter.

The minister must also strive in good works with his own property and keep his gate open to the needy. He should not be miserly, short-tempered, and arrogant toward God's creatures, but rather conduct himself toward them with pleasing character, liberality, and generosity.

As for the second characteristic, which is that of loftiness, the minister must conduct himself toward the soldiers and subjects in a manner befitting high aspiration, not coveting any service or bribe from them, but conveying to them instead the fruits of his generosity and liberality.

As for the third characteristic, which is that of steadfastness, the minister must be steadfast toward the soldiers and subjects in the sense that when he assigns a fief to a commander for his cultivation, appoints a tax collector to a certain area, or designates someone for a post, he should not make changes and substitutions without due reason, or pay heed to the words of the biased, unsupported by proof. For God said: "O ye who believe, if an evildoer comes to you with tidings, then verify it, lest ye strike some folk in ignorance and afterward repent of what ye did."[23] When the treachery and guilt of someone has been proved, the minister must not prevaricate or compromise, or be negligent in requital. He must be careful not to lead astray a group of persons at court with bribes and services, for they will then conceal the truth and engage in intercession and obfuscation, so that others too become bold, and the hand of oppression and trespass reaches out against the subjects.

It is incumbent on the minister, whenever he wishes to appoint someone to a task, position, or tax collectorship, that he should act with caution and make the appointment in accordance with merit, for all harm in posts both religious and worldly arises from this, that those posts and tasks have not been given to the deserving, but rather to persons who have performed some service and acquired a protector at court, so that no atten-

[23]Qur'an, 49:6.

tion is paid to their fitness or lack of it. Those who are fit for these tasks and positions do not, because of self-respect and the dignity of religion, consider it permissible to frequent the courts of kings, to wait upon the worthy and unworthy without distinction, and constantly to exclaim, "May the king have long life!" Kings rarely concern themselves with seeking out suitable people for each task and making appointments in accordance with merit, and thus it inevitably happens that religious posts generally fall into the hands of the unworthy. Whenever merit is disregarded in this respect, it is on account of the shortcomings of ministers, chamberlains, and deputies who fail to investigate the circumstances; do not seek the people of talent, learning, and piety; allow the talented to waste away in a corner; and assign tax collectorships and appointments to the unworthy on account of corrupt desire.

As for the fourth characteristic, which is that of endurance, just as the tent pole bears the whole weight of the tent, so too must the minister carry on the shoulder of aspiration and solicitude the burden of all the soldiers and subjects and the whole kingdom. He must regard the subjects with the gaze of compassion; if they commit numerous misdemeanors with respect to his own property, he must overlook it and forgive them, practicing endurance and forbearance. But it is incumbent upon him to prevent whatever results in harm for the kingdom, and he must not admit apathy to his nature so that the interests of the kingdom and its subjects are harmed or neglected. He must investigate and be aware of the state of the kingdom and its subjects, of friend and enemy, and of other kings and their realms, so that he can busy himself in preventing, before it befalls, every kind of harm—religious or worldly—that might occur. For once an event has befallen, it is difficult to take measures against it.

The minister should know for certain that if he practices the four characteristics that have been set forth in his dealings with God, the king, and the subjects, and if he joins a sincere intent to that practice in all circumstances, thinking in his own mind, "All these services to the king and his subjects I perform for the sake of God's pleasure and drawing near to his presence; my striving is directed to bestowing ease and tranquillity on a be-

liever, to repelling some evil from an oppressed one, and to preventing an oppressor from committing oppression" (for the Prophet, upon whom be peace, says: "Aid your brother, whether he be oppressor or oppressed"; to which it was said: "O Messenger of God, I may help him if he is oppressed, but how can I help him if he is an oppressor?" the reply being: "You prevent him from oppressing; that is your help to him")[24]—if the minister fulfills all this—then every deed and endeavor, every instance of endurance, patience, rectitude, tranquillity, and steadfastness, every commanding of good and forbidding of evil, every act of justice and equity, every service and deed of humility, every toil and exertion, every giving and receiving, every income and expenditure, and every talking and listening, undertaken by him with friend and enemy, with elect and commonalty, with king and subject, will cause him to receive a degree of nearness and loftiness of rank in the Mighty Presence. This is on condition that his deeds be pure of and preserved from the pollution of subordination to caprice, the pride of the soul, the arrogance and haughtiness of lordliness, the insolence of affluence, the trappings of rulerhood, and hypocrisy before men. Only then will they be worthy of acceptance by God, for "God is good, and accepts only the good."[25]

Similarly, when each of the other deputies, tax collectors, and officeholders acts in his work according to trustworthiness and piety; adorns himself with the qualities set forth above, insofar as he is able; and has regard for God's will, and strives to lighten the burden of the subjects—he too becomes deserving of high rank and nearness in the Divine Presence.

The minister and the rest of this class must also observe certain litanies and times of devotion, like rising for part of the night and engaging in *ẕekr,* in accordance with the conditions set forth in the chapter on *ẕekr,* or making *ẕekr* and reciting the Qur'an at the time of the morning and midafternoon prayers. Then they will be of that number whom God praises thus: "They call upon their Lord in early morning and evening, desiring His face."[26] If the minister can keep his tongue daily engaged in the

[24]Tradition recorded by Boḵārī.
[25]Tradition recorded by Beyhaqī.
[26]Qur'an, 6:52.

ẕekr of *lā elāha ellā'llāh,* in all his comings and goings, his risings, sittings, and lyings—indeed at all times except when answering the call of nature—this is in itself perfect good fortune, and the minister will be of those "who make mention of God standing and sitting, and lying on their sides."[27]

And blessings be upon Moḥammad and his family.

[27]Qur'an, 3:191.

Fourth Chapter:

Concerning the Wayfaring of Different Classes of Scholar: Muftis, Preachers, and Judges

God Almighty said: "God will raise up those who believe and those who have been given knowledge to ascending degrees."[1]

The Prophet, upon whom be God's peace and blessings, said: "The scholars are the heirs of the prophets";[2] and he also said: "The scholars of my community are like the prophets of the Children of Israel."[3]

Know that knowledge is the noblest of means for gaining nearness to God; that it is also an attribute of God; and that through knowledge lofty degrees may be attained—"God will raise up those who believe and those who have been given knowledge to ascending degrees."[4] But this last is conditional upon fear and awe of God being joined to knowledge, for the beginning of all knowledge is the fear of God, and God Almighty calls scholar or learned the one who has awe and fear of Him: "Among His bondsmen they truly fear God who have knowledge."[5] As knowledge increases, so too does fear. Hence the Prophet, upon whom be peace, said: "I am he among you who has the most knowledge of God, and the most fear of Him."[6] The sign of fear is to act in accordance with one's knowledge, and to make of knowledge a means for attaining high rank in the hereafter, not for accumulating wealth or acquiring worldly power and bestial enjoyment. Whoever does not act in accordance with his knowledge, and makes of it a means for gaining the wealth and power of this world, is in reality ignorant, not learned. God Almighty has likened such a person—God preserve us!—to an ass: "The likeness of those who were charged with the

[1]Qur'an, 58:11.
[2]Beginning of a Tradition recorded by Bokārī, Abū Dā'ūd, Ebn Māja, Dāremī, and Ebn Ḥanbal.
[3]Tradition; source unknown.
[4]Qur'an, 58:11.
[5]Qur'an, 35:28.
[6]Tradition recorded by Bokārī, Moslem, Abū Dā'ūd, and Ebn Ḥanbal.

Torah, and failed in their charge, is that of an ass bearing huge tomes."[7]

Knowledge is the legacy of the prophets, upon whom be peace: "The prophets bequeathed not a single *dinar* or *derham,* but they bequeathed knowledge, and whoever acquires it, acquires an abundant share."[8] The prophets bequeathed two kinds of knowledge: outer knowledge and inner knowledge.

Outer knowledge is that beneficial knowledge which the Companions—may God be pleased with them!—derived from the sayings and deeds of the Prophet, and which the following generation and the imams of the forebears of the community then investigated, studied, taught, and applied. It consists of knowledge of the Book and the Sunna, exegesis, Traditions and narrations, jurisprudence, and whatever is dependent on these.

Inner knowledge consists of the perception of those matters which were given like wine to the Prophet's soul to quaff—peace be upon him—without the intermediary of Gabriel from the uttermost unseen, at the station of "or nearer"[9] and in the state of "I have a time with God."[10] "He revealed to His bondsman what He revealed."[11] Then, in accordance with the custom of the generous, from the realm of prophethood he would pour a draught from those brimming goblets on the soul and the liver of those burned in the world of the quest—"God poured naught into my breast, but I poured it into the breast of Abū Bakr."[12]

In the same way that outer knowledge is of many kinds, inner knowledge also has great variety. It includes the knowledge of the following matters: faith, Islam, and beneficence;[13] the different forms of certainty derived from the perception of causes,

[7]Qur'an, 62:5.
[8]Completion of the Tradition, "the scholars are the heirs of the prophets."
[9]Qur'an, 53:9.
[10]Part of the Tradition quoted in full on p. 156.
[11]Qur'an, 53:10.
[12]Tradition recorded, with a somewhat different wording, by Bokārī and Ebn Ḥanbal.
[13]Concerning beneficence *(eḥsān),* see p. 126, n. 13.

immediate vision, or witnessing and unveiling;[14] repentance; asceticism; piety; sincerity; the soul and its attributes and diseases; the heart and its attributes, aspects, and states; the refining and training of the soul; the purifying and nurturing of the heart; the distinguishing of different types of stray thought—the satanic, angelic, spiritual, and divine, and those arising from the soul, the heart, the intellect, and faith; the difference between divine indication, inspiration, address, summons, heavenly voice, and God's word; the improvement of morals; the transformation of attributes; the assuming of divine characteristics; witnessing and its varieties; unveiling and its different types; divine unity and its different types; the attributes of beauty and the attributes of splendor; the meaning of the attributes; the manifestation of the attributes; the manifestation of the essence; stations and states; nearness and remoteness; attainment; effacement and abiding; intoxication and sobriety; and gnosis and its various types, as well as other branches of knowledge pertaining to the unseen, an enumeration of which would lead to prolixity.

These represent together that which the wayfarer on the Path acquires through learning the knowledge of "He taught Adam the names, all of them."[15] As for those who are deprived of such felicity, whenever they hear anything concerning this type of knowledge, they begin to reject it. Thus the Prophet, upon whom be peace, said: "There are hidden gems of knowledge, known to none but those who know God; and when they are spoken of, none reject them but those proud before God."[16] Similarly, Abū Horeyra—may God be pleased with him!—said: "I have preserved from the Messenger of God two vessels filled with knowledge. As for one, I have scattered forth its contents; but as for the other, were I to scatter forth its contents, my throat would be cut."[17]

Scholars fall into three groups: those that have outer knowledge; those that have inner knowledge; and those that have both

[14]Concerning witnessing and unveiling, see Third Part, Seventeenth and Eighteenth Chapters.
[15]Qur'an, 2:31.
[16]Tradition previously quoted on p. 48.
[17]Saying recorded by Bokārī.

outer and inner knowledge, which is a rarity. If there are five people belonging to this last group in the world in each age, it is a large number. Indeed, the blessedness of one of them will embrace the whole world, from east to west: He will be the pole of his age, and the people of the world will seek refuge in his high fortune and take shelter in his lofty aspiration. It is in such a scholar that the Prophet, upon whom be peace, takes pride when he says: "The scholars of my community are like the prophets of the Children of Israel."[18] It is also in truth to these scholars that belong the heirs of the prophets, upon whom be peace, for they have received the legacy of both outer and inner knowledge—"The scholars are the heirs of the prophets."[19]

The scholars of the outer also consist of three groups: muftis, preachers and judges.

As for muftis, they are men who engage in study and reflection and the issuing of *fatvās*.[20] They fall into two groups. The first consists of those who are learned both of heart and of tongue; in whom the fear and awe of God are present; who act in accordance with their knowledge; and who observe piety as well as issue *fatvās*. They acquire and disseminate knowledge for the sake of salvation and high rank in the hereafter, and sever their gaze from the power and wealth of this world. It is they to whom God refers when He says: "Among His servants they truly fear God who have knowledge."[21]

The second group consists of those who are learned of tongue but ignorant of heart, and from whose heart fear of God and shame are absent. In learning and disseminating knowledge their intention is not to acquire reward in the hereafter and closeness to God; instead, they pursue knowledge for the sake of acquiring power, wealth, and the acceptance of men, and for gaining appointments. They are inevitably overcome by caprice; their knowledge becomes subordinate to caprice, and they come to act in accordance with caprice, not with knowledge. They

[18]Tradition quoted at the beginning of the chapter.
[19]Tradition quoted at the beginning of the chapter.
[20]*Fatvā:* the considered and authoritative opinion of a jurist on a legal question or case.
[21]Qur'an, 35:28.

envy pious and believing scholars; slander and calumniate them; argue with them instead of discussing; vex them; utter words that have no justification; refuse to submit to the truth; desire through mere impudence and quickness of tongue to falsify the truth and present falsehood in the clothing of truth; and make a show of their learning. Such scholars are of those concerning whom the Prophet, upon whom be peace, said: "Beware of every hypocrite learned of tongue, who says that which ye know to be good, and does that which ye know to be evil."[22]

In truth, the harm caused to religion and the community by such sinful scholars and ignorant ascetics is more than that due to any other cause. Thus the Commander of the Faithful, 'Alī—may God be pleased with him!—says: "None caused me distress in Islam except two: the sinful scholar and the innovative ascetic. The sinful scholar causes people to dislike his learning, on account of the sinfulness they see in him; and the ascetic innovator causes people to like his innovation, on account of the asceticism they see in him."

Evil scholars, hypocritical ascetics, and mendicant dervishes, who in their greed sell religion for worldly gain, constantly frequent the portals of kings in abjection, and enter the gates of princes and grandees in abasement. They serve them in lowliness and dishonor, praise them and glorify them, and hypocritically laud them for qualities they do not possess. Whatever falsity their master commits or utters, they flatteringly exclaim, "the prince spoke truly!" Because of corrupt desire, they abandon enjoining the good and forbidding the evil in order to obtain recompense or a few illicit *derhams;* and they give bribes in order to acquire a tax collectorship or other post. The faith of princes, grandees, and army commanders in the scholars, and the devotion to them of kings, have inevitably declined through the unpropitious effect of men such as these. By way of analogy, they have assumed that all scholars and shaikhs have the same evil character and reprehensible characteristics, and thus they have come to look on the chosen of God and the friends of the Almighty with the eye of contempt, and to turn away from them completely. They have become deprived of the benefits to be

[22]Tradition of unknown status.

had from their service and company, and are left without any share in the light of their knowledge and the ray of their sainthood. It is said in a Tradition that whoever has worldly interest as his aim in the cultivation of knowledge will have no share in the reward of knowledge beyond the power and wealth he attains in this world; and in the hereafter he will be the first with whom hellfire is kindled.

It is a duty to seek refuge in God from knowledge that confers no benefit, for the Prophet, upon whom be peace, said: "I take refuge in Thee from knowledge that has no benefit."[23] Knowledge without benefit is of two kinds. The first is knowledge of the Law when left unapplied, for it is then of no benefit, even though beneficial in itself. The second consists of astrology and soothsaying, and the different sciences of philosophy which are called "wisdom," and which some have mingled with theology and named "the principles of religion,"[24] in order to fasten unbelief and misguidedness on the necks of the hapless people under the cover of this fair name. This type of knowledge is in its essence without benefit, and if applied it is a cause of perdition, transgression, and misguidedness. Many are the wanderers who have strayed from the road of religion and the highway of rectitude on account of this knowledge, deludedly imagining that they are acquiring the science of gnosis and knowledge of the truth. They were unaware that the gnosis of God is not to be had through study and transmission, but only through outwardly and inwardly following Moḥammad, upon whom be peace. Thus God Almighty informs us: "This is My path, the straight, so follow it and follow not ways other than it, for they shall divert you from His way. Thus He commands you that ye may be pious."[25]

The pious mufti must then shun these kinds of knowledge and the harm they produce, and strive to purify his intent so that the *fatvā* he delivers, the lesson he teaches, and the debate he conducts will all be directed to attaining reward in the hereafter and nearness to God; to disseminating knowledge and manifest-

[23]Part of a supplicatory prayer recorded by Bokārī.
[24]Principles of religion *(oṣūl-e dīn):* see p. 381, n. 22.
[25]Qur'an, 6:153.

ing the truth; and to expounding the Law and strengthening religion. He must cleanse his soul of the arrogance that knowledge engenders and purify it of the pollution of greed and covetousness, for the abjection of the scholar lies in these two.

> Greed for lucre pollutes the soul of the scholar;
> Not by chance does abjection befall him.
> Woe and alas! for life has come to an end,
> But this insatiable greed is still not exhausted.

When giving his *fatvā*, the mufti must be extremely careful not to act in accordance with the inclination of his soul, or personal interest and motive. If he has control of an endowment, he must not misuse it; nor must he accept illicit money, for when he consumes something of doubtful legitimacy, greed, passion, envy, and hypocrisy will arise, and then all the efforts he has made in his life will become scattered dust. He must also shun all innovations, be steadfast on the highway of imitating the Sunna, conform to the practice and belief of the Righteous Forebears, and follow the precepts of the People of the Sunna and Community.

He should also impose on himself some devotional duty at each instant and hour, and not spend his precious life in idleness and frivolous amusement. In the morning, when he performs the dawn prayer, he should busy himself with *ẕekr* and recitation of the Qur'an until sunrise. After the midafternoon prayer he should also spend some time in *ẕekr* until nightfall. Then he will have acted in accordance with the indication, "remember the name of Thy Lord morning and evening,"[26] and in this there is great benefit. When the sun has risen, he should perform two *rak'ats*[27] of prayer, and then engage in teaching, and in benefiting himself and others with knowledge. When he has completed this, he should perform the prayer of the forenoon, making from two to twelve *rak'ats* according to his ability, and then busy himself, until the time between the midafternoon and sunset prayers, with providing for the livelihood and tranquillity of his family and offspring, as well as fulfilling the essential claims on

[26]Qur'an, 76:25.
[27]*Rak'at:* a unit of prayer.

him of his own being. Then he should again occupy himself with either scholarly discussion, study, or teaching until sunset and the end of the day; and after that engage in *ẕekr* until he performs the evening prayer. If it is possible for him to spend the period between the sunset and evening prayers in devotion, engaging in *ẕekr* and recitation of the Qur'an and of litanies, it will be a great felicity for him.

After performing the evening prayer, he should remain silent, for this is decreed by the Sunna. He should engage in reading or repetition until a sixth of the night passes, and then sit for an hour facing the *qebla* engaging in *ẕekr*. When he is overcome by sleep, he should lie on his right side facing the *qebla*, in a state of concentration and continuing *ẕekr*, and recite this prayer, which is Sunna, with his heart and his tongue: "O God, I have submitted my soul unto Thee and turned my face unto Thee; I have come for refuge unto Thee and entrusted my concern unto Thee; in fear of Thee and in hope of Thee; there is neither refuge nor salvation other than Thee, and no fleeing from Thee but in coming unto Thee; I believe in Thy Book which Thou hast revealed, and in Thy Prophet whom Thou hast sent."[28] Then he should engage in *ẕekr*, with his heart and his tongue, until he falls asleep. It is related in Tradition that whoever sleeps in a state of ritual purity and continuing *ẕekr* will have his spirit borne to beneath the Divine Throne, there to engage in the worship of God; and whatever dream he sees will be veracious and true. The saying of the Prophet, upon whom be peace, that "the sleep of the scholar is an act of worship"[29] refers to this kind of sleep. The mufti should then attempt to rise for an hour in the middle of the night and engage in *tahajjod*[30] prayer, for it is the Sunna of the Prophet. This consists of thirteen *rak'ats*, together with *vetr*,[31] and the longer the Qur'anic passages recited in this

[28]Tradition recorded by Beyhaqī and Dāremī.

[29]Tradition recorded by Beyhaqī.

[30]*Tahajjod:* a supererogative prayer performed during the night.

[31]*Vetr:* a highly recommended prayer, having almost the status of a mandatory one, offered at any time between the evening prayer and that of the following dawn. It may be offered separately or, as Dāya suggests here, in conjunction with *tahajjod*. It consists of an odd number of *rak'ats*, a minimum of one and a maximum of thirteen, but generally three *rak'ats* are offered, so that *tahajjod*, as prescribed by Dāya, consists of ten *rak'ats*.

prayer, the better it will be. Then, if he wishes, he may go back to sleep again until it is time for the dawn prayer; then he should arise, make his ablutions, and engage in *ẕekr* until it is time for the prayer.

In making these devotions he must not be content with a form empty of meaning, but constantly impose some form of discipline on his soul and be watchful over his heart. In accordance with his capacity, he will then attain some of that which we have described in the chapters on the refinement of the soul, the purification of the heart, and the adornment of the spirit, in the section on the life of man, so that gradually certain truths become manifest to him, and certain mysteries unveiled.

> If you fall short of the demands of the Path,
> Still do your best—no harm will befall you![32]

As for preachers, they fall into three groups. The first consists of those who memorize a few chapters full of artificial and meaningless rhyming expressions that contain no religious knowledge, and constantly mumble these as a matter of practice. They wander the world seeking to gain men's acceptance and accumulate wealth, and experiment with a hundred different kinds of artifice, hypocrisy, trickery, and legerdemain in order to attain their profane purpose. From the pulpit they engage in praising and lauding monarchs and kings, princes and ministers, grandees and officials, judges and governors, even going so far as to call licit in the name of the Prophet, upon whom be peace, the lies those powerful ones tell and the reprehensible innovations they practice. Thus they use the pulpit, in effect, to engage in begging, to gain money from oppressors and to demand allowances from them. Sometimes it even happens that they take money from the poor by coercion, not by consent, and exact the purifying tax from the people even though they are not liable to pay it. What they eat is illicit, and what they wear is illicit. They invent lying stories, and narrate counterfeit and dubious traditions, saying, "this is an authentic Tradition." They inspire reprehensible expectations in the people and speak with an eye to pleasing them, and thus cast them into innovation and mis-

[32]A line from the *Ḥadīqat al-ḥaqīqa* of Sanā'ī (p. 73).

guidedness. It sometimes happens also that they cultivate fanaticism and stir up disorder, and encourage and incite the people to fanaticism.[33]

These preachers are similar to the scholars who are learned of tongue and ignorant of heart, and hellfire will be kindled with them.

The second group of preachers consists of righteous imams who speak for the sake of God and reward in the hereafter; who shun innovation and misguidedness; whose words are concerned with interpretation of the Qur'an, the Traditions of the Prophet, upon whom be peace, and the lives of the righteous, in conformity with the Sunna and the practice of the Righteous Forebears; and who, with preaching, advice, and wisdom, summon men to God and the highway of the Law, to repentance and asceticism, to abstemiousness and piety, in accordance with God Almighty's saying: "Call unto the path of thy Lord with wisdom and fair preaching."[34] They neither encourage the people in reprehensible expectation nor make them despair of God's generosity through excessive arousal of fear, for that too is reprehensible. They do not pollute themselves with the impurity of coveting this world, and thus they are able to speak words of truth, for only speech that is free of covetousness can have an effect. If the preacher is contaminated with love of this world and covetousness, his words will be similarly contaminated; and arising from the soul, they will neither be true nor capable of affecting the heart. Even if what he says is the truth, it will not have been spoken in truth, but in falsehood and vanity, and it will not reach the heart. The great have said that whatever comes from the heart, reaches the heart.

It is said in Tradition that "God revealed to David, saying, 'O David, make no inquiry of a scholar who is drunk on love of the world, for such a one is a brigand infesting the path of My bondsmen.' "[35] 'Abdollāh the son of 'Abbās—may God be pleased with

[33]Fanaticism: excessive partisanship in adherence to a legal school. See pp. 43 and 261.

[34]Qur'an, 16:125.

[35]Tradition; source unknown.

them both!—relates that the Prophet, upon whom be peace, said: "The scholars of my community will all resemble two men. One will be given knowledge by God and he will freely distribute it among men, not using it to fulfill covetous desire, or selling it for a price. Upon such a one blessings will be invoked by the birds in the sky, the fish in the ocean, the animals on the earth, and the noble recording angels. He shall come before God, Mighty and Glorious, on the Day of Resurrection as a master of men and a noble, and he shall even be a companion of God's messengers. The other will also be given knowledge by God in this world, but he will withhold it from God's servants, use it to fulfill covetous desire, and sell it for a price. He shall be in torment until God has finished with the accounts of all creation."[36]

Shaikh Abū Ṭāleb Makkī—may God have mercy upon him!—has related the following in his book *The Nurture of Hearts:*[37] "Some of the severest words I have heard concerning those who seek knowledge to pursue worldly gain are those that were related to me on the authority of 'Obeyd b. Vāqed, who heard them from 'Os̱mān b. Abū Soleymān. He said: 'Moses, upon whom be peace, had a servant who began saying, "Moses, the Chosen One of God, told me"; "Moses, the Confidant of God, told me"; and "Moses, the Interlocutor of God, told me," so that he became rich and his property increased. Moses then lost trace of him and began to inquire after him. He could discover no sign of him until one day a man came to him, leading a swine by a black rope tied to its neck. Moses said to him, "Do you know so-and-so?" and he replied, "Yes, he is this swine." Then Moses said: "O Lord, I beg of Thee, restore him to his former state, that I may ask of him the cause of this affliction." God Almighty revealed to him, saying: "Were thou to implore Me with all the supplications of Adam and the Children of Adam, I would not grant thee thy prayer. But I will tell thee why I brought him to this state: because he was seeking worldly gain by the use of religion."' "

[36]Tradition recorded by Abū No'eym.

[37]Abū Ṭāleb Makkī (d. 386/996), author of one of the earliest systematic accounts of religious practice imbued with a Sufi coloring, *Qūt al-qolūb,* quoted here by Dāya (cf. Cairo ed., I, 293).

Let then the scholars of religion recognize all this as true, and abstain from greed for this world and from using religion for worldly gain. For many admonishments have been made to this effect; we have merely contented ourselves with the foregoing.

When the preacher refrains from worldly ambition and fulfills the same conditions and customs, and recites the same litanies, as those set forth for the mufti, he will be of those concerning whom God says: "God will raise up those who believe and those who have been given knowledge to ascending degrees."[38]

It is related in a Tradition of Ebn 'Abbās—may God be pleased with him!—that scholars excel mere believers by seven hundred degrees, and that there is a distance of five hundred years between each degree. Every piece of advice and every sermon that a true scholar delivers will gain him, with each of its constituent letters, a degree of nearness and high rank; and the merit of every person who repents, embarks on worship, and turns to God as a result of his preaching will be in his balance of good deeds on the Day of Resurrection.

The third group of preachers consists of shaikhs who, through the rapture of God's grace, have wayfared on the path of religion and journeyed to the realm of certainty, and who have attained God-given knowledge through the unveiling of dominical favor. From a ray of the lights of the manifestation of God's attributes they have come to behold inner meanings, truths, and mysteries; they have gained full awareness of the states and stations experienced in wayfaring on God's Path; and they have been appointed by God's mighty presence and the sainthood of the shaikhs to guide and train men, and to call them to God. First they preach a whole lifetime to their own selves—"Preach unto thyself, and then, if thou heedest thy preaching, preach unto others; if not, have shame before God";[39] they hearken to the preacher within them—"God is in the heart of every believer";[40] and they wait in ambush on the cunning and wiles of the soul. Then, in accordance with God's command, they begin summon-

[38]Qur'an, 58:11.
[39]Tradition?
[40]Tradition?

ing men to God and calling them away from the ruined tavern of this world, with its wine of passion that bestows the drunkenness of neglect, to the enclosure of sanctity and the assembly of intimacy—"in a seat of sincerity"[41]—where pure wine is dispensed by the cupbearer of beauty made manifest—"Their Lord shall give them to drink."[42] Thus God says: "Recall unto them God's days."[43] They cause them to taste of the libation given to true men; agitate the chain of their heart's yearning and love; and expound to each group of men something of the Law, the Path, and the Truth, in accordance with their degree of intellect, perception, capacity, and ardor, so that each may attain his share and his portion, as his aspiration dictates: "Each group knew from where it might drink."[44]

Further, if a soul flies forth like a bird from the nest of "He shall love them"; if it falls into the net of morīdship and is enticed into the trap of love's affliction by the grain of "they shall love Him,"[45] then shall the shaikhs take that royal white falcon—a strange, wondrous bird—to the retreat that is their place of seclusion. There they will blindfold the eyes of its soul's caprice to the desires of both realms, and nurture it on *ẕekr*, until its frantic desire to have recourse to other than God is stilled, and it attains the station of intimacy and becomes ready and worthy to perch on the arm of the King.

Shaikhs such as these are the choice part of creation, the vicegerents of God, the deputies of the prophets, and the guardians of their legacy—"The scholars of my community are like the prophets of the Children of Israel."[46] Not every eye may behold the beauty of their perfection, for they are hidden beneath the domes of God's jealousy.

> The men of His path are alive with a different life;
> The birds in His sky come from a different nest.
> Do not look upon them with this eye of thine,
> For they are beyond both worlds, in a different world.

[41]Qur'an, 54:55.
[42]Qur'an, 76:21.
[43]Qur'an, 14:5.
[44]Qur'an, 2:60.
[45]Qur'an, 5:54.
[46]Tradition quoted at the beginning of the chapter.

All that men see of the shaikhs is their heads and their beards, because by analogy they imagine their states to resemble their own and those of other men; they regard them merely as ordinary preachers or as scholars learned in outer knowledge, unaware that "angels cannot be compared to blacksmiths."

As for judges, they also comprise three groups, as the Prophet, upon whom be peace, says: "There are three classes of judge: two in hellfire and one in Paradise."[47]

Of the two that are in hellfire, one comprises judges who are ignorant of the knowledge needed for judging, and who give judgment in ignorance and according to the soul's caprice and inclination. The other class consists of those who have the knowledge needed for judging but do not act in accordance with it, acting instead in ignorance and caprice. They follow inclination and partiality, and prefer men's approval to God's. They take bribes, and assign to others the task of writing out registers and marriage deeds in return for a fee and for money. They appoint deputies in the realm in exchange for bribes and for money, and empower their servants to exact bribes and annul people's rights. They embezzle legacies and the property of orphans, and practice all kinds of deceit. They present falsehood as truth, and conceal and falsify truth. Furthermore, they make illicit use of the endowments, and award official posts, as well as mosques, colleges, and hospices, to the unfit and the usurper, on account of bribes received or personal motive and interest. They fail to strengthen the people of religion and neglect the duty of enforcing public order and morals, as well as the task of enjoining the good and forbidding the evil. Finally, they fail to exercise that care for the upkeep of pious foundations which is incumbent on judges. For all these reasons they are deserving of hellfire.

As for the class of judge that is in Paradise, it may be that the Prophet's saying—peace be upon him!—is an indication that even in Paradise there are judges; for how might any judge in this world properly fulfill all the obligations incumbent upon him?

[47]Tradition recorded by Abū Dā'ūd and Ebn Māja.

It is for this reason that the Prophet said: "To be appointed a judge is to be slaughtered without the use of a knife."[48]

For almost thirty years, this feeble one has been wandering through the lands of the world, in the east and the west, and he has barely found a single judge free and immune from all the defects mentioned above. But if despite everything a judge is free and pure of all reprehensible qualities, and possesses on the contrary praiseworthy qualities; if he adheres to the highway of the Law and the same pattern of inner and outer conduct, described above, as the scholar who is learned of heart and acts in accordance with his knowledge; if he adorns each moment of the day with the same litanies; and if he is able to judge among the Muslims in accordance with the Sunna and the practice of the Righteous Forebears—then he will be one of God's saints, and His elect and His chosen. For each judgment that he delivers in justice, for each instance of concern that he shows for the state of the people, and for each enactment of the penalties of the Law that he decrees, he will gain a new degree of rank, nearness, and lofty honor. Such a judge will be one of the world's rarities, and to seek blessing from him and to draw near to him will be incumbent upon all.

And God's blessings be upon Moḥammad and his family.

[48]Tradition recorded, with a slightly different wording, by Termeẕī, Abū Dā'ūd, Ebn Māja, and Ebn Ḥanbal.

Fifth Chapter:
Concerning the Wayfaring of the Possessors of Bounty and the Holders of Wealth

God Almighty said: "Seek the abode of the hereafter with that which God has given thee, nor forget thy portion in this world, but do good, as God has done good unto thee, and seek not corruption on earth, for God loves not the corruptors."[1]

The Prophet, upon whom be God's peace and blessings, said: "Whoever acquires wealth that is lawful and uses it to provide for himself, to strengthen the ties of kinship, to settle his debts, and to care for his neighbor will have a face luminous like the full moon when he meets God on the Day of Resurrection; and whoever acquires wealth that is unlawful, and seeks to increase it, and is boastful and ostentatious with it, will be the object of God's anger when he meets Him on the Day of Resurrection."[2]

Know that the wealth and bounty of this world, its pomp and good fortune, are like a ladder by means of which one may either ascend to the heights or descend to the depths. It is therefore possible to make of wealth and power the means for earning either the lofty degrees of Paradise and nearness to God, or the lowly degrees of Hell and remoteness from His presence. God Almighty gave an indication of this alchemy of happiness when He said: "Seek the abode of the hereafter with that which God has given thee." That is, "Seek the lofty degrees of the hereafter with what God has given you of the wealth of this world, while not forgetting your share in this world." There is here too an indication that your share in the wealth of this world is that which you spend for God's sake, not that which you spend or store up for the sake of caprice: "Whatever remains with you will come to an end; whatever remains with God will be everlasting."[3]

The description of that which is to be spent for God's sake is

[1]Qur'an, 27:88.
[2]Tradition; source unknown.
[3]Tradition?

contained in the declaration of the Prophet in elucidation of the perspicuous verse we have quoted.

"Whoever acquires wealth that is lawful and uses it to provide for himself." That is, whoever acquires wealth that is lawful, and uses it to preserve his honor and his religion, by freeing himself of dependence on others, who does not endure the abjection of covetousness, but accepts the dignity of contentment.

"To strengthen the ties of kinship." That is, to maintain the ties of kinship with his relatives by use of that wealth. Relatives are of two kinds. The first consists of relatives by blood; it is incumbent to aid and assist them with one's wealth, as God said: "it is righteousness . . . to spend of your wealth on your kinsfolk, out of love for Him."[4] Elsewhere too, He mentioned "generosity to kinsfolk."[5] The second kind comprises relatives by religion, as God has said: "Verily the believers are brethren."[6] It is also incumbent to maintain the tie of kinship that is religious brotherhood, and the sense of this brotherhood is made clear when God mentions as recipients of one's wealth "kinsfolk, orphans, the indigent, the traveler, those who ask, and slaves to be ransomed."[7]

"To settle his debts." That is, to clear his obligations and debts by means of that wealth. If someone has a grievance against him or a claim upon him, or if he owes someone a debt, he should settle these matters. Having done that, he should give the purifying tax to those deserving it, in such a way that his act is free of the blights of hypocrisy, desire for good repute, pride, ostentation, arrogance, haughtiness, boasting, cunning, deceit, treachery, the expectation of fame and celebrity, and the intention to injure and make reminder of one's charity. For all these cancel the reward for the purifying tax and charity, as God says: "O ye who believe, cancel not your charity by making reminder of it and by injury, like him who spends his wealth to be seen of men."[8] The great have said that there are certain claims upon

[4]Qur'an, 2:177.
[5]Qur'an, 16:90.
[6]Qur'an, 49:10.
[7]Qur'an, 2:177.
[8]Qur'an, 2:264.

one's wealth in addition to the purifying tax, for God says: "and the seeker of charity and the deprived had a claim on their goods";[9] and it is related of the Prophet, upon whom be peace, that he said: "There are claims on wealth in addition to the purifying tax."[10]

"And to care for his neighbor." That is, to meet the claims of his neighbor upon him by use of that wealth. For the neighbor has many rights and claims, and the Prophet, upon whom be peace, said that Gabriel would constantly urge upon him care for the neighbor, so much so that he thought one's neighbor would be designated an heir. According to another Tradition, "Whoever believes in God and the Last Day, let him honor his neighbor."[11]

Know that in truth the wealth and power of this world are like copper awaiting the elixir. Once one has attained the science of the elixir, the more copper one acquires, the more gold one may produce. The science of the elixir consists of removing from copper blackness, density, lightness, and instability, and of bringing forth in it redness, purity, weight, and stability. When the copper has acquired these attributes it will be pure gold, multiplied seven hundred times or more. Similarly, there are certain reprehensible attributes and afflictions inherent in the wealth and power of this world. If they are expelled and other attributes are added, an elixir will result by means of which eternal felicity and everlasting good fortune may be attained.

The reprehensible attributes and afflictions inherent in the wealth and pomp of this world are ten in number.

The first is transgression: "Verily man transgresses all bounds when he sees himself free from all need."[12] Transgression means neglect of God and remoteness from Him.

The second is wrongdoing: "Were God to spread forth provi-

[9]Qur'an, 51:19.
[10]Tradition reported with a different wording by Dāremī.
[11]Tradition recorded by Bok̲ārī, Moslem, Ebn Māja, Dāremī, and Ebn Ḥanbal.
[12]Qur'an, 96:6.

sion for His bondsmen, they would engage in wrongdoing on earth."[13] Wrongdoing means corruption and the commission of oppression against the world's lands and their people.

The third is turning away: "When We bestow bounty on man, he turns away and becomes remote on his side."[14] Turning away means averting oneself from God, busying oneself with caprice, and showing ingratitude for bounties received.

The fourth is arrogance and pride, like that of the pharaoh when he said on account of his wealth and his power: "Is it not mine, this kingdom of Egypt, and the rivers that flow beneath me?"[15]

The fifth is boasting: "A boasting among you, and rivalry in increase."[16] Boasting means showing pride and vanity in front of one's peers, behaving arrogantly and haughtily toward one's brethren, and forgetting God.

The sixth is rivalry in increase: "Rivalry in increase has diverted you [from the remembrance of God]."[17] Rivalry in increase means boasting of the extent of one's wealth and vaunting it, and being neglectful of God.

The seventh is preoccupation: "There shall say unto thee the desert Arabs who were left behind, 'Our properties and families preoccupied us.'"[18] Preoccupation means the squandering of life on the accumulation and guarding of wealth, and the spending and disbursing of it for the sake of worldly desire, passionate pleasure, and animal enjoyment.

The eighth is miserliness: "Let not those who in their miserliness withhold that which God has given them from His generosity imagine that it is better for them. Rather, it is worse for them, for that which they withheld shall be a collar around their

[13]Qur'an, 42:27.
[14]Qur'an, 17:83.
[15]Qur'an, 43:51.
[16]Qur'an, 57:20.
[17]Qur'an, 102:1.
[18]Qur'an, 48:11.

necks on the Day of Judgment."[19] Miserliness means refusing to acknowledge the various claims on one's wealth, such as the purifying tax and gifts of charity; aid to brethren and kinsfolk; giving to the beggar; honoring the guest and the neighbor; sustaining one's family, servants, and retinue in abundance; caring for the scholar and the devout; providing for the stranger and the weak; and so forth.

The ninth is prodigality: "Verily the prodigal are brethren unto the devils."[20] Prodigality means wastefulness in spending, contrary to God's pleasure and command; squandering one's wealth in seeking power and position; being generous for the sake of fame and celebrity, and gaining men's praise; spending money on fools, libertines, and oppressors; being extravagant in the lavishing of money on food and clothing, and the building of palaces, houses, and places of corrupt entertainment, like gardens with their kiosks, pavilions, and lodges; luxurious spending on vessels, carpets, and curtains, other household goods and equipment, and adornment for the walls; spending money on slaves, slavegirls and riding beasts to an extent beyond licit and essential need; and similar types of expenditure.

The tenth is deception: "Let not the life of this world deceive you, and let not the Arch-Deceiver deceive you concerning God."[21] Deception means giving one's heart to this world and being seduced by its allurements; forgetting the hereafter and death, the accounting and the balance, the bridge of Ṣerāṭ,[22] and reward and requital; ignoring God's awesomeness and might, His wrathfulness and supreme power; and relying on His generosity, favor, and mercy alone, without worshipping Him or repenting of sin.

All these are afflictions that arise from the wealth and power of this world, and they are a cause of trial for the owner of property, as God Almighty says: "Your goods and offspring are

[19]Qur'an, 3:180.
[20]Qur'an, 17:27.
[21]Qur'an, 31:33.
[22]The bridge of Ṣerāṭ, mentioned in Tradition but not in the Qur'an, is that narrow bridge suspended over hellfire across which all must pass on the Day of Judgment.

a trial."[23] Therefore let every possessor of good fortune whose helper is felicity and whose companion success apply with the hand of the Path the elixir of the Law to this copperlike wealth and power. Once he has purified it of the ten afflictions we have described and brought forth in it the ten qualities that are the opposite of those afflictions, then that wealth will be entirely transformed into the very essence of nearness to God and acceptance by Him, into elevation of degree and increase in rank, and into the attainment of truth: "How good is righteous property possessed by the righteous!"[24]

Of the ten qualities in question, the first is loftiness of aspiration. If the whole world is one's possession and property, he should not become attached to it or pay it any regard; instead he should see it all to be from God and of God. He should not look upon it with the eye of approval, in order to avoid becoming a transgressor, and also to follow the model of the Prophet, upon whom be peace: "When there covered the Lote Tree that which covered it, his gaze swerved not nor strayed."[25]

The second is chastity. When the possessor of wealth is chaste of soul, he will not regard corruption and the oppression of himself and others as permissible.

The third is turning toward God: "Verily I have set my face toward Him Who created the heavens and earth."[26] He should know himself and all his possessions and property to exist for the sake of God, and abandoning the friendship of all others he should turn to the friendship of God. He should consider everyone his enemy and then renounce the enemy for the friend—"Truly they are enemies unto me, except for the Lord of the Worlds."[27]

The fourth is gratitude: "Thank God for His bounty if it is He that ye worship."[28] There is in this verse an indication that true

[23]Qur'an, 8:28.
[24]Tradition recorded by Ebn Ḥanbal.
[25]Qur'an, 53:17.
[26]Qur'an, 6:79.
[27]Qur'an, 26:77.
[28]Qur'an, 16:114.

gratitude is not merely saying "Praise be to God!" but is rather spending God's wealth in God's path for God's sake, in accordance with God's command, expecting success only from God, and acknowledging one's inability to thank God adequately, on account of the infinity of God's bounty.

The fifth is humility: "He who humbles himself before God is raised up by God."[29] Humility is knowledge of oneself, for if one looks to his beginnings when he was an abject drop of water, he will see that whatever was added to that drop—strength and power, instruments and tools, property, bounty and rank, respect and intelligence, perspicacity, learning, and knowledge—all derived from God's generosity, kindness, solicitude, compassion, and bounty. He will then have nothing to boast of or vaunt, and no cause to be arrogant, proud, and haughty with God's creatures. Otherwise, ingratitude may cause man's borrowed possessions to be taken away from him—"If ye are ungrateful, verily My chastisement is severe."[30]

The sixth is generosity: "Generosity is a tree that grows in Paradise."[31] The true essence of generosity is not to grudge oneself one's property, and one's property is what one gives away, not what one hoards.

> Hoard not wealth in abundance, for it is not yours;
> Rather hasten to give it away, then it is yours.
> If you wish, hoard it—the gain will be others';
> Or if you wish, give it—the gain will be yours.

The Prophet, upon whom be peace, once said to his Companions: "Which among you prefers his own property to that of his heirs?" They all replied that they preferred their own property to that of their heirs. The Prophet then said: "Your own property is that which you send on to the hereafter, and the property of your heirs is that which you leave here."[32]

[29]Tradition recorded by Moslem and Termeẕī.
[30]Qur'an, 14:7.
[31]Part of a long Tradition recorded by Ebn Ḥanbal (according to the second half of this Tradition, "miserliness is a tree that grows in Hell").
[32]Tradition recorded by Boḵārī and Nasā'ī.

The seventh is tranquillity: "Men whom neither trade nor selling divert from the remembrance of God."[33] Tranquillity means holding one's property and possessions in the hand, not in the heart, and keeping the heart exclusively engaged in the remembrance of God, thus avoiding all negligence of Him.

> Since the jealousy of His love's monarch was plain from the beginning,
> The chamber of the heart was reserved for His ardor.
> His birds flew beyond the limit of time and of space,
> And made nests for themselves in the sky of detachment.

If the possessor of wealth and power cannot himself reach these stations and degrees because of his preoccupation with other concerns, then let him aid and assist with his wealth the class of men that is traveling toward them. Let him prepare for them the means of concentration and tranquillity, so that for each degree they attain with his help a reward will be inscribed in his record of deeds, and through the blessed effect of his service to them and his love for them he will be made one of them, and resurrected with them: "Man shall be with those whom he loves."[34]

The eighth is piety: "The noblest among you in God's sight is the most pious."[35] Piety consists of shunning illicit wealth, food of uncertain lawfulness, forbidden forms of passion, the impurities of the soul, evil characteristics, and opposition to God's command; of striving to the utmost to fulfill the commands, duties, and obligations of the Law; and of attempting to purify one's intent, so that one's deeds are free of hypocrisy and boastfulness, and guile and deceit.

The ninth is observing the mean: "Those who when they spend are neither profligate nor niggardly, but observe the mean."[36] Observing the mean means adhering to moderation, being

[33]Qur'an, 24:37.
[34]Tradition previously quoted on p. 338.
[35]Qur'an, 49:13.
[36]Qur'an, 25:67.

neither profligate nor niggardly when spending. Profligacy means spending contrary to God's pleasure and for the enjoyment of the soul, even if only to the amount of a morsel. Niggardliness means withholding and failing to spend that which should be spent according to God's law and His pleasure. Hence, observing the mean and moderation means going to extremes in spending for God's sake, even if one spends one's entire property, as was the case with Abū Bakr, may God be pleased with him. But as far as one's person is concerned, one should abandon extravagance and ostentation in food and dress, in dwelling and mount, in household appurtenances, and cloth and other goods, thus observing the mean and preventing one's belongings from being a veil.

The tenth is surrender and contentment: "Contentment with fate is the supreme gate to God."[37] Surrender means surrendering today one's person and property to God, since these were already sold to God in exchange for Paradise, by the covenant of "am I not your Lord?"[38] The time to surrender them is today, for God Almighty will surrender Paradise tomorrow, since that is the time for its surrender—"Verily God has bought from the believers their persons and property in return for Paradise."[39] To surrender one's person and property means to consider them as belonging to God, not to oneself; to regard oneself as a trustee appointed by God for spending His wealth, and one's fellow men as bondsmen of God; to care for their welfare, in both word and deed, with one's own person, so far as is possible; to spend money on them in accordance with God's command; not to look on anyone with the eye of contempt, but rather to see oneself as subordinate to all, and sell oneself a morsel to eat and a rag to wear in exchange for that subordination; to consider oneself the least slave of one of God's bondsmen; and not to remind anyone of what one has given him, while regarding himself as obliged and indebted to everyone from whom he accepts a favor.

Furthermore, one should be content with whatever God de-

[37]Arabic utterance of unknown origin.
[38]Qur'an, 7:171.
[39]Qur'an, 9:112.

crees for his person and property, and patient in any test God imposes on him, not attaching his heart to the world, or being deceived by the oglings of the soul and the cunning of Satan, but being constantly ready to surrender his soul, so that he surrenders it immediately when it is demanded. One should also strive to establish an endowment for pious foundations with whatever property will remain after one's death, so that every act of worship that then takes place in those foundations is inscribed in his register of deeds. It will then be as if he were eternally alive, for whoever does not engage in worship during his lifetime is dead, and whoever engages in worship after his death is alive.

When, therefore, the possessors of bounty and the holders of wealth purify their worldly property from the ten afflictions we have mentioned and adorn it with the ten contrasting properties and qualities, they will have attained the elixir of everlasting felicity, and transformed the wealth and power of this transient world, multiplied a hundred times, seven hundred times or more, into everlasting high rank and reward in the hereafter, into nearness and closeness to God: "The likeness of those who spend their property in the way of God is that of a grain of corn: it puts forth seven ears, and in each ear is a hundred grains. God gives manifold increase to whomever He wills."[40]

And if once in his lifetime the possessor of wealth sets the trap of sincere aspiration with the hand of supplication, and scatters in it the grain of wealth; if a white falcon from among the chosen and beloved of God then takes the grain from his trap, so that the grain—even if only a morsel—becomes a part of the falcon and has a share in each act of the falcon's worship of God, then the reward for that share will go to the giver of the morsel. Those auspicious ones, the chosen of God, receive at certain times the workings of God's rapture, and at such times a single instant of their worship is equal to the deeds of the inhabitants of heaven and earth: "A rapturous state bestowed by God is equal to all the deeds of men and jinn."[41] The share in this of that hunter who set the trap cannot be computed by the people of the east and the west joined together, for the favors of

[40]Qur'an, 2:261.
[41]Saying of unknown origin; see p. 222, n. 15.

God come from the world of infinity, and not every shortsighted gaze can alight on the beauteous perfection of this state.

And God's blessing be upon Moḥammad and his family.

Sixth Chapter:
Concerning the Wayfaring of Farmers, Village Headmen, and Peasants

God Almighty said: "Whoever desires the tillage of the hereafter, We will grant him increase in his tillage, and whoever desires the tillage of this world, We will grant him a part of it, and he shall have no share in the hereafter."[1]

The Prophet, upon whom be God's peace and blessings, said: "Whoever sows a seed or plants a tree from which the birds and beasts come to eat shall have it inscribed in his register of good deeds."[2] He said too: "Seek for provision in the recesses of the earth."[3]

Know that farming and agriculture are a form of commerce with God and the best of all crafts and trades, if properly practiced. If one is gifted with the insight of gnosis, he will perceive that they constitute the viceregency of God with respect to His attribute of Provider. And if one engages in this work with insight and awareness, he will receive reward without limit and attain high rank and degree.

There are three classes of men engaged in this work, each of which has its own customs and conditions. If these are observed and fulfilled, each may attain the rank of the sincere devotee, the martyr and the righteous.

The first class is that of the farmers, who have property and land, but need peasants, journeymen, and apprentices to engage in agriculture and cultivation on their account. Their customs and conditions are these. First, not to take pride in their property and land, nor to become attached to it, considering it only a loan and a trust in their keeping, and knowing all that exists to be God's, for "God's is the kingdom of the heavens and earth";[4] then not to seek to accumulate, hoard up, and augment; not to

[1]Qur'an, 42:20.
[2]Tradition recorded by Bok̲ārī, Moslem, Termeẕī, and Ebn Ḥanbal.
[3]Tradition; see Forūzānfar, *Aḥādīs̱-e Mas̱navī*, p. 168.
[4]Qur'an, 5:123.

look with the eye of contempt on the indigent apprentices and journeymen; and finally to have as their purpose in farming and agriculture the tillage of the hereafter—"This world is the tillage of the hereafter."[5]

When the farmer gives out the seed from his barn, he should do so with the intention of sowing the seed of the hereafter, not of this world. This he does by saying to himself: "When God Almighty nurtures this seed and it produces a crop, I grant all creatures, both human and animal, the right freely to eat of it." Or rather he should say to himself: "God's creatures, both men and beasts, need food, and not everyone can be a farmer. I am therefore undertaking to serve them for the sake of God's pleasure, and to worship Him through service to them."

He must not in any way cheat the peasant, apprentice, or journeyman, but give them in full their wage and their share. When first a field, orchard, or other plantation produces a crop to the extent of the taxable minimum,[6] or when the harvest is gathered, the farmer should subtract the amount due as purifying tax and set it aside in a separate place. He should then give it as quickly as possible to those having a claim on the tax in accordance with the Law, for if even part of what is owed as purifying tax becomes mixed with his property, all his property will be tainted with unlawfulness.

Whatever is left over of the crop he should not attempt to store up for the next year, but instead rely upon God. For the essence of farming is reliance upon God, because one must hope for God's generosity and favor in order to obtain a crop, and no creature has any influence or power in the matter.

The farmer must always keep the door of his house open to travelers coming and going, to the rich and the poor; serve God's creatures with cheerful countenance and joyous heart, with true faith and sincere intent, so far as his income and the extent of his crops permit; and count this as a favor received.

[5]Tradition previously quoted on p. 93.

[6]Taxable minimum *(neṣāb):* the amount of any commodity specified in jurisprudence as the minimum for the levying of *zakāt* (the purifying tax).

If one year the crop fails, or there is a drought and no rainfall, he should not burden his heart and be anxious for daily provision. Nor should he in his greed for possessions be ungrateful for God's bounty, and reject or dislike God's actions with his heart or his tongue. Instead, let him reflect that there is some divine wisdom dictating the matter, and conduct himself with contentment and submission, knowing all provision to be given by God. He should not be less than an old woman—

A wretched old woman looked out from her hovel,
Saw her patch of land parched, and then said:
"O Thou Who art both ancient and new,
Provision is from Thee; do what Thou wilt!"[7]

When the farmer practices his trade in this fashion; when he sows a seed with the proper intention; when he plants a tree in sincerity; when he refrains from encroaching on the water and land of others; when he heeds the commands and prohibitions of the Law—then every morsel, every grain, and every fruit that, coming from his land and his property, his fields and his orchards, go to feed a man, a bird, or an animal, will be inscribed in his register of good deeds, and will earn for him nearness to God and high rank. Indeed, if the farmer's intent is to practice his trade for the sake of the Muslims and to benefit them, he will be rewarded for each grain and each fruit that men derive from his toil, even though they buy it from him for money. The great have said that three hundred and sixty people must labor for a morsel of bread to become baked and ready to eat—a sower, a reaper, a carpenter, a blacksmith, and men of many other trades. If that morsel should become the food of one of God's saints, God will forgive the sins of the three hundred and sixty for the sake of the saint and set them free from the fire, if He so wills.

The second class is that of the village headmen and foremen. They should fulfill the same conditions that we have laid down for the farmer, and in addition maintain equilibrium among the peasants, not giving the strong preference over the weak, or taking bribes. Further, they should be the helpers of God and strengthen religion and the people of religion. They should also

[7]Two lines from the *Ḥadīqat al-haqīqa* of Sanā'ī (p. 107).

assure the tranquillity and prosperity of the peasants, and exert themselves mightily to repel oppression from them. They should not covet their possessions and belongings, but be content and abstemious. They should life in righteousness, avoid all forms of corruption, chastise the corruptors, and enjoin good and forbid evil. If they see some sign of pretension or corruption in one of the peasants, they should admonish him and make him repent. In general, they should fulfill properly all the conditions of their position as headmen or foremen, and know for certain that they will be called to account for whatever befalls them and their flock: "Each of you is a shepherd, and each will be called to account for his flock."[8] If headmen and foremen fulfill all the conditions of their task, God Almighty will grant them a reward and high rank for each act of worship, charity, righteousness, and tranquillity performed by those in their charge, if He so wills.

The third class is that of the peasants and journeymen who have little property or land of their own, and hence sow and till the land owned by others. Insofar as they are able, they should observe the same conditions as the first group. They should be trustworthy and pious, and shun treachery and dishonest behavior. They should give freely of their care and attention to their work and act with honesty and sincerity, whether in the presence or absence of the landowner. They should strive to protect his property and land, and exert themselves mightily in cultivating and sowing. They should not oppress animals by loading them heavily, making them work excessively, or beating them too frequently, for God Almighty will hold them responsible for whatever the animals suffer beyond their capacity, and He will avenge the animals upon them: "God is mighty and vengeful."[9]

When the peasants are engaged in tilling and driving a pair of oxen before them, they should constantly make *zekr;* and when it is time for prayer, they should immediately begin praying. If they cannot pray in congregation, let them at least pray with the intent of congregational prayer in order to gain its reward. In no event should they completely neglect prayer. They should also fulfill the other conditions that have been set forth.

[8]Tradition previously quoted on p. 415.
[9]Qur'an, 3:4.

Further, they should not consider themselves to be true sowers of the soil, but only God: "Is it ye who sow the soil, or are We the sowers?"[10] Hand and foot, sight and hearing, power and strength—all are given by God's mighty presence so that the sower will be able to plant a seed or a tree. After the planting, the sower can have no further effect on the seed until God Almighty causes it to split open in the soil and put forth a green shoot. Then He gradually effaces the seed in the earth, and restores it to life some time later on the branch or the bough, multiplying it a hundred times, seven hundred times, or more. Thus the sower is in truth God, Who has hidden provision for His bondsmen in the recesses of the earth. And hence the Prophet, upon whom be peace, instructs men to go and seek for it: "Seek for provision in the recesses of the earth."[11]

The peasant should therefore consider himself a deputy appointed by God, and know Him to be the true Sower and Provider. He should in addition adorn the days of his life with those litanies and prayers that were mentioned in earlier chapters. Then all sustenance that men, animals, and birds derive from his labor will be inscribed by God Almighty in his register of good deeds, and he will be granted a degree of high rank and nearness. These glad tidings were given by the Prophet, upon whom be peace, when he said: "Whoever sows a seed or plants a tree from which the birds and beasts come to eat shall have it inscribed in his register of good deeds."[12]

And God's blessings be upon Moḥammad and his family.

[10]Qur'an, 56:64.
[11]Tradition quoted at the beginning of this chapter.
[12]Tradition quoted at the beginning of this chapter.

Seventh Chapter:
Concerning the Wayfaring of Merchants

God Almighty said: "Men whom neither trade nor selling diverts from the remembrance of God."[1]

The Prophet, upon whom be God's peace and blessings, said: "The honest and trustworthy merchant will be brought forth with the prophets and messengers on the Day of Resurrection."[2]

Know that trade is of two kinds: the trade of this world, and the trade of the hereafter. The trade of this world also comprises two kinds: one that is directed to benefit in this world alone, and one that is directed to benefit in the hereafter, with benefit in this world seen as dependent upon it—"Whoever desires the tillage of the hereafter, We will grant him increase in his tillage."[3]

As for the trade that is undertaken for the sake of benefit in this world alone, it is extremely reprehensible. Its gain is to be without gain, and to carry a burden of guilt to the reckoning in the hereafter. Its profit is but loss; its increase, but deficiency; and its benefit, but harm.

Increase in worldly goods is but decrease,
And to profit in all but pure virtue is loss.

God Almighty associates this type of trade with vanity when He says: "Say: 'what is with God is better than vanity and trade.'"[4] Similarly, when the Prophet, upon whom be peace, says: "Merchants will be brought forth as sinners on the Day of Resurrection except those who are pious, righteous, and truthful,"[5] he designates worldly merchants, in whom there is no piety, righteousness, or truthfulness, as sinners. And God Almighty says, "Verily the sinners will be in hellfire, entering it on the Day of Judgment."[6]

[1]Qur'an, 24:37.
[2]Tradition recorded by Termeẕī and Dāremī.
[3]Qur'an, 42:30.
[4]Qur'an, 42:11.
[5]Tradition; source unknown.
[6]Qur'an, 82:14.

As for the trade that is undertaken for the sake of benefit in the hereafter, it is that referred to by God in His saying, "men whom neither trade nor selling diverts from the remembrance of God."[7] Commentators have explained this verse in two ways. The first is that it refers to the trade of the hereafter. That is, "there are men who do not engage in the material trade and selling of this world, in order not to be diverted from God and the remembrance of God." Instead, they engage in the trade of the hereafter, devoting their persons and property entirely to God's path, and turning away completely from the world. Thus God says: "O ye who believe! Shall I guide you to a trade that will deliver you from painful chastisement? It is that ye believe in God and His messenger and strive in His path with your property and persons; that is best for you, if ye but knew."[8]

The other sense is that the verse does indeed refer to the trade of this world, but to the kind of trade that is directed to benefit in the hereafter. That is, there are men who even though outwardly engaged in material trade, and buying and selling, do not neglect to remember God with their heart. This latter interpretation is preferable because the verse continues: "and the regular performance of prayer and giving of the purifying tax."[9] That is, they also do not neglect prayer and the payment of the purifying tax, and this tax can be paid only if one is engaged in the trade of this world; one who completely abandons all wealth and turns away from the world cannot pay it.

The conditions, then, for trade being undertaken for the sake of profit in the hereafter, and the company of the prophets and messengers, are that the merchant should make of piety his outer and inner garment; consider his property to be God's property; and act always with the intention of using God's property for the sake of God's bondsmen, in accordance with God's command and pleasure, and spending any profit that may accrue for the sake of God's bondsmen, regarding himself and his family as part of them. He should also be punctiliously trustworthy and religious, always observing equity in buying and selling, and

[7]Qur'an, 24:37.
[8]Qur'an, 61: 10.
[9]Qur'an, 24:37.

offering fair terms whether buying or selling. For the Prophet, upon whom be peace, says: "God will have mercy on a man who gives fair terms when buying or selling."[10]

Further, the merchant should by no means swear oaths, whether veracious or lying, in the course of buying and selling, for God Almighty regards the merchant who is given to oaths as an enemy. He should be content with a modest profit, for blessedness is joined to contentment, and deprivation to greed: "the greedy is deprived." He should exert himself in trustworthiness and avoid treachery, for the Prophet, upon whom be peace, says: "Trustworthiness attracts sustenance and treachery attracts poverty."[11] When he is buying goods, he should not find fault with them, nor when he is selling them should he praise them or conceal their defects and exaggerate their merits. He should neither buy nor sell slaves, for the buying of slaves exposes one to accusation and harm, and the selling of them gives rise to mischief. It has been said, "beware of whatever excites accusation." However, it is less objectionable to buy and sell slaves who are crippled, and who may be kept for a certain purpose or service.

Whenever the merchant arrives in a town in the course of his journeys, he should inquire after its tombs and blessed places, and go there in visitation, with the utmost ardor. He should also seek out the ascetics, devotees, shaikhs, imams, recluses, and saints in every town that he comes to; wait upon them in sincerity; and seek the favor of each with some token or offering, great or small. This he should regard as great gain, for indeed there is no gain to be had on a journey greater than being in the company of men of God and serving them. The merchant should also help the poor and the weak in every city as far as he can.

He should devote to charitable purposes all profit earned in the course of a journey, as well as that gained from transactions and exchanges conducted in his place of residence, deducting only his family's expenses. He should in no way be concerned with the accumulation, hoarding, and augmenting of wealth, for God Almighty says: "As for those who bury gold and silver

[10]Tradition recorded by Moslem, Ebn Māja, and Ebn Ḥanbal.
[11]Tradition recorded by Dāremī.

and spend it not in the path of God, give them tidings of a painful chastisement. On the day that their treasure is heated in hellfire, their brows, their flanks, and their backs shall be branded with it—'This is the treasure ye buried for yourselves; taste now that which ye buried!' "[12]

The merchant must live in such fashion that when the time comes to depart for the hereafter, he will have sent all his profit and capital on in advance, so that he then departs in the wake of his property. A merchant who wishes to go on a journey in this world also sends his property on in advance. Then he becomes restless and impatient in his own city and makes ready to depart in the wake of his property, so that the hour when it is time for the caravan to leave will be the happiest of all times for him. He will also arrange matters so that his offspring are given an amount adequate to assure their livelihood from whatever wealth he leaves behind, while the rest is devoted to endowments and pious foundations, so that a continuing act of charity survives him. For it is a pity that he should labor and others enjoy the fruit of his efforts.

It is related in a Tradition of the Prophet, upon whom be peace, that among those gathered on the Plain of Resurrection, on the Day of Judgment, four men shall experience regret such as none other shall, from early or late generations. The first is a scholar who has not acted in accordance with his knowledge and sayings while others have done so. On the Plain of Resurrection he will see them being borne off to Paradise and himself to hellfire. He will say: "Ah! They acted in accordance with my knowledge and earned Paradise; I failed to do so, and earned hellfire."

The second is a corrupt master who owns a righteous slave. When he sees, on the Plain of Resurrection, his slave being borne off to Paradise and himself to hellfire, he will say: "Ah! My slave engaged in worship and earned Paradise; I, his master, wrought corruption and earned hellfire."

The third is a person who has performed many acts of worship

[12]Qur'an, 9:34-35.

of all kinds, but has also oppressed, insulted, or inflicted a grievance on someone; has slandered someone or spoken ill of him; or has tormented and beaten someone. When he comes to the Plain of Resurrection, his adversaries will come forth. One will take away his prayer, and another his fasting; one will take away his payment of the purifying tax, and another his pilgrimage. So that person will be left bankrupt and the sins of his adversaries will be lifted up and tied to his neck. He will be taken to hellfire, and his adversaries to Paradise. He will say: "Ah! It was I who was busy in worship, and they who were busy in sin, but I am borne off to hellfire on account of their sins, and they are borne off to Paradise on account of my worship."

The fourth is the possessor of wealth who acquires his wealth with great trouble, but neither consumes it nor takes it with him, instead leaving it here for an heir, who uses it for pious and charitable purposes and spends it all in God's path. Both will be brought to the Plain of Resurrection, and the accumulator of the wealth will be called to account and sent to hellfire on account of his sin, while the heir will be taken to Paradise on account of his charity. The accumulator of the wealth will say: "Ah! It was I who toiled and assembled the wealth, both licit and illicit; and now for the sin I am being taken to hellfire, while another goes to Paradise because of the use he made of my wealth." No group of men shall suffer regret such as these four. One must therefore exert oneself to the utmost to be protected by God Almighty from these afflictions.

The trustworthy merchant, however, through his honesty, his honest speech, and his honest conduct, will attain the degree of salvation and those who are saved. Hence the Prophet, upon whom be peace, said: "The honest and trustworthy merchant will be brought forth with the prophets and messengers on the Day of Resurrection."[13] Honesty consists of making one's heart and intention conform to God's will, and doing for the sake of God all that one does. Honest speech consists of speaking truthfully and straightforwardly to men, and avoiding all cunning, stratagem, and deceit. Honest conduct consists of following the highway of the Law, and having some awareness too of the pursuit of the Path.

[13]Tradition quoted at the beginning of the chapter.

The merchant must be careful never to prefer worldly interest to religious interest, or to neglect the tasks of religion for the sake of worldly concern. He should in all circumstances remember God and seek the hereafter, so that he will be of those concerning whom God, Glorious and Almighty, says: "men whom neither trade nor selling diverts from the remembrance of God."[14] God Almighty calls them "men," meaning that whoever does not fit this description is not a true man. Whoever possesses both intelligence and religion will not be content with anything less than the station of manhood, and will not be seduced by the coquetry of this world—a stinking, murderous old hag.

Our shaikh, Shaikh Majd al-Dīn al-Bağdādī, may God sanctify his dear spirit, said:

> The intelligent when he examines the ways of the world
> Will not give a grain for the fortunes of time.
> His constant care will be this: How in the end
> To arise and leave this trap of affliction?

And blessings be upon Moḥammad and his family.

[14]Qur'an 24:37.

Eighth Chapter:
Concerning the Wayfaring of Tradesmen and Craftsmen

God Almighty said: "O ye who believe, spend from the good things ye have earned, and from that which We have brought forth for you from the earth; and aim not for the vile, in order to spend from it, when ye would not receive it yourselves except with closed eyes. And know that God is rich, deserving of all praise."[1]

The Prophet, upon whom be God's peace and blessings, said: "The best of what man eats is that which he earns with his own hand."[2]

Know that trades and crafts are the result of the knowledge, power, and cognition of the spirit which existed within it in potentiality before its present state, and then, by means of corporeal tools and instruments, and at the command of the intellect—the minister and deputy of the spirit—emerged from potentiality to actuality, from the unseen to the manifest.

The trades and crafts of man afford an aperture through which the possessor of intelligence and insight may gaze on God's activity and work as Maker. First he will recognize that the essence of his spirit has certain attributes. He will know that his spirit is living, for if it were not living, no act would emerge from it. He will know that it has knowledge, for if it did not, these many subtle and useful arts would not proceed from it. He will know too that it has will, for without will no deed proceeds from doer, particularly at one time instead of another. Specification of time in the creation of a deed on the part of its doer proves the existence of both choice and will, contrary to what the erring philosophers say: "The maker of the world has no choice or will in the creation of deeds." With frank avowal of unbelief, what ignorance, what great temerity and impertinence! God's curses be upon them, and those who love and follow them,

[1]Qur'an, 2:267.
[2]Tradition recorded by Termeẕī, Ebn Māja, and Ebn Ḥanbal.

until the Day of Judgment. He will know too that the spirit is endowed with hearing, vision, and speech, for otherwise these attributes could not appear in the bodily frame. Finally, he will know that the spirit has power, for deeds are impossible without power; and that it has permanence, for the permanence of the bodily frame is the result of the permanence of the spirit.

When he has recognized these eight essential attributes of the spirit and witnessed the effect manifested by them in his bodily frame; when he has seen his frame engaged in motion and activity as a result of these attributes, so that numerous subtle trades and fine crafts appear in him; and when he has seen his spirit increase daily in knowledge—then he will know that his spirit requires one who will bring it to perfection. For it does not exist of itself; once it was not, then it was; and it therefore requires a creator who shall bring it from nonbeing to being. That creator is God, the Glorious and Almighty.

He, Glorified and Almighty, must possess also these eight attributes, which are the attributes of perfection, in order to create beings.[3] His essence must be self-subsistent, for otherwise need and substantial continuity with other than God would result. The attributes must furthermore subsist by the essence, and exist both before and after temporality, for otherwise they would be accidents, the essence would become the locus of createdness, and corruption would necessarily follow, which is an impossible conclusion.[4]

The intelligent will thus recognize God to be the absolute Doer, Powerful One, and Maker, and know that the spirit is set to work by God in the microcosm known as the bodily frame, as His deputy and viceregent. He will know too that God's deeds are of two kinds: those accomplished by means of the human person, the viceregent of God; and those accomplished without the use of any means.

The first kind also comprises two types: deeds pertaining to

[3]See p. 389 and p. 389, n. 60.

[4]Dāya's statement that the attributes must subsist by the essence is in full conformity with Aš'arī doctrine; see Taftazānī, *Šarḥ al-'āqā'ed*, pp. 24–26.

the microcosm and deeds pertaining to the macrocosm. Those that pertain to the microcosm—that is, the bodily frame—are accomplished by means of the spirit, together with the tools and instruments of the soul that serve the spirit, such as the vegetable soul, the animal soul, and the human faculties. As for those deeds that pertain to the macrocosm known as the world, they are accomplished not only by means of the spirit, and the tools and instruments of the soul we have mentioned, but also by means of the tools and instruments of the body, such as the five senses, and the members and limbs. All the crafts and trades that man produces are the result of deeds belonging to this last category.

As for those of God's deeds accomplished without using the means of the human person, they are those the signs of which are manifest upon the horizons and in men's souls. The signs upon the horizons consist of the heavens, exalted and adorned with brilliant stars—"We have adorned them for those who would gaze"[5]—and the reflection of heaven's stars upon the dark earth: roses and tulips, bright and clear water, all the different varieties of trees and of flowers, of fruits and of plants, animals, minerals, simple and compound elements, and so on: "Verily in the creation of the heavens and earth, and the alternation of night and day; in the ships that run on the sea, for the benefit of mankind; in the water which God sends down from the sky, and the life He gives therewith to the earth after its death; in the beasts of all kinds that He scatters through the earth; in the change of the winds, and the clouds subdued between the sky and the earth—therein verily are signs for men possessed of intelligence."[6]

As for the signs in men's own persons, they consist in this, that God Almighty has brought forth from a drop of sperm so subtle and complex a being as man, endowed with hearing, sight, and speech, and well-proportioned members and limbs—"Verily We created man from a drop of mingled sperm, in order to try him, and endowed him with hearing and sight."[7]

[5]Qur'an, 15:16.
[6]Qur'an, 2:164.
[7]Qur'an, 76:2.

When the possessor of good fortune and insight witnesses the signs of God, which are the results of His deeds, in the mirror of his own self through the light of God's demonstration—"We shall show them Our signs upon the horizons and in their own selves";[8] when he knows the microcosm of the bodily frame, that first was not and then was, to have been made and fashioned by God, and the spirit to have been appointed over it as viceregent by God; when he sees that the bodily frame cannot subsist without the direction of the spirit, but collapses in ruin—then he will know too for certain that in the macrocosm of the world a Maker and Doer must likewise be at work so that numerous and varied circumstances and effects appear as a result of His deeds, and subtle crafts emerge. For if one powerful, perfect, and wise were not at work directing the world, it could not subsist or remain, and as soon as the direction given it by that powerful one ceases, the world will immediately fall down in ruin, and no trace of it will remain. At this station, the true meaning of "whoever knows his own self knows also his Lord"[9] becomes apparent, and the mystery of "and in your selves—will ye not see?"[10] is also unveiled.

Thus it has been established that when tradesmen and craftsmen open the eye of insight and look out through the aperture of their own activity and work as makers, the beauty of the activity and work of the True Maker will manifest itself to their gaze. For that great one said: "I looked upon nothing without seeing God in it."[11] Their eye of insight will be opened whenever they close the eye of their soul's caprice to the contemplation of worldly allurements, carnal pleasures, and animal passions.

It should also be known that the world is in truth like a hospice where God is the shaikh and the Prophet, upon whom be peace, is the steward or servant, it being for this reason that he

[8]Qur'an, 41:53.
[9]Tradition previously quoted on p. 28.
[10]Qur'an, 51:21.
[11]Saying of disputed attribution previously quoted on p. 139; see also p. 139, n. 23.

said: "The master of a people is also its servant."[12] The rest of mankind belongs to two categories: those serving and those served, just as there are only these two groups in a hospice. There are the laborers, each of whom is assigned a certain duty by the shaikh for which he is held responsible, and there are the assiduous seekers who under the dominance of love's ardor and in the pain of the quest are oblivious to everything and everyone; who have turned away from men and the caprice of the soul; and who have set their faces to the wall of ascetic exercise and struggle.

We have turned our backs on the world of happiness;
Henceforth our yellow cheek and the wall of His sorrow.

Both these groups are entrusted by the shaikh to his servant, who sets everyone to work at his proper station, giving him aid and assistance, and instruction and guidance. Thus the laborers serve the seekers, while the seekers engage in worship and devotion with tranquillity and concentration. For if all the dwellers in the hospice were seekers, each would have to care for his own needs, and all would be preoccupied and distracted from their seeking, for seeking is a task for the unencumbered. Thus God Almighty addressed the Prophet, upon whom be peace, saying: "When thou art free of concern, then labor hard, and unto thy Lord incline."[13]

In love for Thee I have abandoned all other tasks,
For this is no task for one encumbered with tasks.

In the hospice of the world, then, there are two classes of men. First, those who are served by others and who have set their face to the world of the hereafter and the service of God. God Almighty, who is the shaikh of this hospice, has ordered this

[12]Tradition recorded by Beyhaqī, with the additional phrase, "during a journey." Dāya is using the word *ḵādem* ("servant") in the technical sense it bears in Sufism: the one responsible for ordering the affairs of the hospice under the guidance of the shaikh. See Abū al-Najīb al-Suhrawardī, *A Sufi Rule for Novices (Kitāb Ādāb al-Murīdīn),* trans. Menahem Milson (Cambridge, Mass., 1975), p. 50, where the same Tradition is quoted in illustration of the function of the *ḵādem.*

[13]Qur'an, 94:8.

world and all that it contains to serve men such as these—"O world, serve whoever serves Me; and take as servant whoever serves thee." The other class consists of those who seek the world, and they correspond to the laborers in the hospice: like them, they have each been assigned a task, from the king to the merchant in the bazaar. All men belong to this class except those who are engaged solely in the worship of God and who are the choice part of His creation. The verse "I did not create jinn and mankind except that they might worship Me"[14] means this: that whoever—man or jinn—is given a task to fulfill, performs it so that these sincere devotees who have been delivered from love of the world, the caprice of the soul, and the influence of Satan may in all tranquillity engage in the worship of God and the cultivation of religion—"They were not commanded except to worship God, devoting their religion to Him in sincerity."[15] Thus just as in the hospice the laborers are occupied in serving the seekers and make of their service a means for drawing near to God, so too do those who are the laborers in the hospice of the world receive from God Almighty a share in the dominical favors He bestows on His elect.

While in Khorasan, this feeble one once instructed a number of dervishes to enter seclusion and appointed another dervish to serve them. In the course of certain unveilings, I then perceived that the succor of God's favor was being received by each of the dervishes who had entered seclusion, and that a special share of that favor was passed on from each of them to the dervish who was serving them.

Similarly, each of the people of this world—the laborers in its hospice—should form the following intent in the exercise of his craft and trade: "I perform this, my task, for the sake of God's bondsmen. For my craft is necessary if the need of a Muslim is to be fulfilled, and a worshipper is to devote himself in tranquillity to God." If everyone were to engage in all the crafts and trades that he needs, he would be unable to fulfill his proper tasks, worldly and religious; the world would be ruined; and none would have the tranquillity needed for worship or the concentration required for devotion.

[14]Qur'an, 51:56.
[15]Qur'an, 98:5.

God Almighty in His perfect wisdom and utter power has appointed everyone to a certain service or craft which he practices for fifty or a hundred years, without daring to engage in some other task for even a day. The people of each craft and trade who serve in the hospice of the world should act in all things according to the command of the shaikh—God the Glorious—and the direction, guidance, and instruction of his servant—Moḥammad, the Messenger of God, peace and blessings be upon him. Further, they should practice compassion, trustworthiness, and piety; in all circumstances remain steadfast on the highway of the Law; and guard their earnings against contamination by illicit or dubious wealth. They should refrain from taking in excess and giving in deficiency; shun dealings with all possessors of illicit wealth, except in ignorance; and never perform their craft or trade with fraud or deception but instead observe equity. On encountering someone who is unacquainted with their trade and unaware of the true price of their goods, they should refrain from exploiting him and charging him an excessive price, asking only what they would of someone more knowledgeable.

They should also carefully avoid all deceit and treachery. One day the Prophet, upon whom be peace, was walking in the market when he saw a heap of corn being sold. He dipped his blessed hand into the corn, and it came forth moist. He asked: "What is the meaning of this?" The owner of the corn said, "O Messenger of God, it has been touched by the rain." The Prophet said: "Why did you not leave the moist part of the corn on top of the heap so that everyone might see it?" Then he said: "Whoever deceives us is not from among us."[16] That is, "whoever seeks to cheat and deceive the people of my community does not belong to it."

The practitioner of a craft or trade should also try to give a share of his earnings and gain to one beloved of God, and to give ease to a poor person. It is related of David, upon whom be peace, that he communed with God Almighty, saying: "O Lord, I wish to see my companion in Paradise." God Almighty said:

[16]Tradition recorded by Moslem, Abū Dā'ūd, Termeẕī, Ebn Māja, Dāremī and Ebn Ḥanbal.

"Tomorrow leave the city, and the first person thou encounterest shall be thy companion." When David left the city, he saw a man coming toward him carrying a load of firewood on his back. He greeted him and inquired concerning his state, saying: "How dost thou conduct thyself toward God Almighty so as to acquire the rank of companionship and friendship with the prophets in Paradise?" The man replied: "Every day I collect a load of firewood such as this with my own hands, then carry it to the city on my back and sell it for a *derham*. I have a mother on whose upkeep I spend one third of a *derham;* another third I spend on my family; and the remaining third I devote to the poor and the needy." David said: "Continue on thy way, for thou deserve to be a companion of the prophets." But then on reflection he said to him: "Come back, and keep my company. I will give thee a *derham* each day, and thou shall be my companion here in this world as thou will be in Paradise." But the poor man replied: "I have gained the rank of being thy companion in Paradise with the toil of my hands, with exertion and endurance. If I cease laboring, that rank will be lost to me. So I will continue laboring in this way and serving God and His bondsmen until death comes and finds me in this state."

God Almighty, in His divine favor, guides His bondsmen to this rank and sets this duty before them when He says: "O ye who believe! spend from the good things ye have earned."[17] That is, spend the licit wealth you have earned. Here, spending includes giving in charity, so that the injunction means "Spend part of what you have earned on yourself and give part to the poor in charity." In confirmation of this, God says elsewhere: "Eat from it, and feed the distressed and the needy."[18] And the Prophet, upon whom be peace, defined earnings as the most licit of all wealth when he said: "The best of what man eats is that which he earns with his own hand."[19]

When tradesmen—the laborers in the hospice of the world—observe the conditions we have set forth, God Almighty will bestow a share of each reward, degree, and station attained by

[17]Qur'an, 2:267.
[18]Qur'an, 22:28.
[19]Tradition quoted at the beginning of this chapter.

His elect, His intimates and beloveds—the prophets and saints, upon whom be peace—on the traders and craftsmen who are the servants and lovers of His elect; and He will resurrect them in their company on the last day: "They it is who are with those whom God has given His bounty—the prophets, the sincere devotees, the witnesses, and the righteous. Fair indeed is their fellowship!"[20]

* * *

If, however, the members of the different classes whom we have set forth in this section as forming eight groups, and whose wayfaring and states we have described in eight chapters, wish to have a fuller share in the libations of true men and the stations of those who have drawn nigh unto God, they should increase their recitation of litanies and acts of worship, their exercises of *ẕekr* and practices such as remaining awake at night, purging the inner being of love of the world, reducing the consumption of food, mortifying the soul, watching over the heart, and abandoning all passions. They should also follow the means for the refinement of the soul, the purification of the heart, and the adornment of the spirit that we have explained in previous chapters, in accordance with their capacity. They should know for certain that the greater their exertions, the greater shall be their reward.

In toil and trouble, O wise one, treasure is hidden:
None comes on treasure without any trouble.[21]

It may be that by fortunate accident one attains the felicity and honor of waiting on one of the shaikhs of the Path, a wayfarer on it by God's grace who has become the skilled physician of the age. Then, taking the cure of religion in accordance with the shaikh's insight and instruction, mounting the pinion of his lofty aspiration and relying on his high fortune, one may traverse the bloodthirsty waste of the commanding soul, where at each stage and stopping place one hundred thousand sincere devotees gave dear life to the winds, without ever seeing the beauty of the

[20] Qur'an, 4:69.
[21] A verse from the *Šāhnāma* of Ferdowsī; I have been unable to locate its precise occurrence.

Ka'ba of their goal, because they were traveling without any guide.

Such shaikhs who are skilled physicians and fit to be guides and directors, even though they are scarce and unique in every era and age, have become in this time fully as rare as red sulphur[22] and the *'anqā*[23] of the Occident. Still more wondrous is it that if, however rarely, that red sulphur be found, it will be less esteemed than the dark earth; and if the *'anqā* of the Occident appears, it will be more portionless than the crow of exile. This is because of the utter lack of insight of the people of the age, and men's absorption in this world and their heedlessness of death and the hereafter, of the accounting and the bridge of Ṣerāṭ, of reward and punishment, of return and reversion: "They know an outer aspect of the life of this world, and of the hereafter they are heedless."[24] What value has dust-colored kohl in the view of the blind, and what worth has the beauty of the sun? Moreover, on account of jealous concern for the honor of His elect, God has lowered the veil of dignity over them by means of the lying claimants who in this age pretend like gypsy charlatans to be skilled physicians. He has made of the false claimant the dome of jealousy beneath which the true shaikh is hidden, and thus protected them from the gaze of the uninitiated: "My saints are beneath My domes; none knows them but I."[25]

O friends! How is it I see myself the only true poet?
How plentiful their claims; how plentiful my odes!
Know that swords are many indeed

[22]Red sulphur *(kebrīt-e aḥmar):* another name for the elixir, the elusive substance that makes possible the transmutation of base metals into gold. There may be an allusion here to the alleged Tradition, "the believer is rarer and more precious than red sulphur." For an explanation of this Tradition, see Zeyn al-'Ābedīn Šīrvānī, *Kašf al-ma'aref* (Tehran, 1350 Š./1971), p. 11.

[23]*'Anqā:* a mythical bird sharing many of the features of the Sīmorḡ (see p. 141, n. 30); it lives in the extreme Occident. For a mass of details concerning the *'anqā*, see Qazvīnī, *'Ajā'eb al-maḵlūqāt*, p. 439. In Sufi usage, the *'anqā* often symbolizes primary matter, in that it exists only as an ideal and not as a tangible entity (see Jorjānī, *Ketāb al-ta'rīfāt*, p. 164; Sajjādī, *Farhang-e moṣṭalahāt-e 'orafā va motaṣavvefa*, p. 287).

[24]Qur'an, 30:7.

[25]*Ḥadīs̱ qodsī* previously quoted on p. 235.

But today there is only one Sword of the State.[26]
Many rivals you have in your craft, it is true.
But the clever know garlic from hyacinth, and rose from jasmine.
Were it not for Joseph's beauty and Jacob's love of him,
No wind or shirt could by chance become sight-lustring tutty.[27]

But to every possessor of felicity, whose eye is anointed with the kohl of the pain of the quest, taken from the kohl box of God's guidance on the stick of His grace, will be sent the wind of affection, blown on the breeze of compassion. Then shall this wind, acting as chamberlain, cast back the veil of jealousy from the entrance to the pavilion of dignity, and there will be displayed to the gaze of the fortunate the beauty of the perfection of that skilled physician of religion, that guide and conductor to the world of certainty. If the seeker should be in the east and the skilled physician in the west, either the seeker shall be brought to the presence of the sought, or the sought shall be conveyed to the door of the seeker.

If the lofty fortune of religious yearning be given thee,
Or the wind of desiring God and His search waft over thee,
Either thou will be pulled by thy hair to the shaikh,
Or he will ride posthaste toward thee.

O God, make us to be of Thy righteous bondsmen, and of Thy chosen ones drawn nigh unto Thee, the rightly guiding and the rightly guided; cause us to abide in the enclosure of Thy sanctity and in the company of Thy intimates, the prophets and messengers; and grant unto us and the people of Moḥammad, blessings and peace be upon him, the conclusion of those who truly succeed.

[26]These two lines of Arabic poetry are taken from a panegyric ode composed by al-Motanabbī (d. 354/965) in honor of his patron, Seyf al-Dowla the Hamdanid, to whose title the expression "Sword of the State" in the second line is an allusion (d. 356/967). See *Dīwān al-Mutanabbī*, ed. F. Dietrich (Berlin, 1861), p. 463.

[27]Two lines from Sanā'ī *(Dīvān*, p. 402). The second of these two lines alludes to the restoration of Jacob's sight by the scent of Joseph's shirt, wafted to him by the wind.

And God's blessings and peace be upon Moḥammad and all his family.

Amen, O Lord of the Worlds.

Conclusion

Completed is this book replete with the true essence of all arcane knowledge, by the aid and support of the Lord without peer, and the effluent grace of Him Who in His might says "be," and it is; as too by the blessedness of the propitious good fortune, and the auspiciousness of the blessed aspiration, of that king who nurtures religion, that monarch who disseminates just decision, that sovereign with the mien of Key Ḵosrow, Key Qobād from the stock of Qobād[1]—may God elevate in both realms the banners of his state, and may He spread over the horizons the wings of his monarchy; written by the hand of the scribe of these truths, and the builder of these fundaments, the indigent one dependent on God, Abū Bakr 'Abdollāh b. Moḥammad b. Šāhāvar al-Asadī al-Rāzī; on Monday, the first of the blessed month of Rajab, the month of God[2]—may God magnify its blessedness and make blessed for us its crescent and its full moon!—in the six hundred and twentieth year after the Hijra; in the heavenly guarded city of Sivas—may God Almighty guard it full well!

Our hope of God's grace without cause, and the compassion of His glorious presence, is that for this attempt to gain His favor and draw nigh unto Him, we shall be rewarded, not rejected; and that this book will be regarded, not discarded, in the presence of the king. For this treasury of truths is not fit for hasty perusal, and its secrets and subtleties cannot be discovered in the course of long lifetimes. Even though these truths drawn from the realm of the unseen cannot be threaded on the pearlstring of expression in a fashion more luminous and evidential than this, still one of Solomonic nature is needed to loosen the knot of even a few of these secrets and allusions, for they resemble the tongue of the birds.[3]

[1]Key Ḵosrow: an epic hero of Iran; also the name of Key Qobād's father, 'Ezz al-Dīn Key Ḵosrow, who ruled Saljuq Anatolia from 588/1192 to 592/1196, and then again from 601/1204 to 607/1210. Qobād: the name of another pre-Islamic Iranian monarch.

[2]Rajab: the seventh month of the Islamic calendar, on the twenty-sixth night of which the Prophet's ascension took place.

[3]Concerning the "tongue of the birds," see p. 147, n. 52.

Not every heart can bear the burden of explaining my speech,
Not every soul derives pleasure from the soul of my speech.
Riddles such as these that are the medium of speech,
I alone understand, I, the interpreter of speech.

That which is requested by this feeble one, upon completing his service, from the royal presence as lofty as the heavens, is not the wealth and pomp of this world, even though on account of so awesome an occurrence and so encompassing a disaster—far be it removed from the royal presence!—I have exchanged homeland for exile; happiness for grief; abundance for scarcity; and tranquillity for distraction. I shall not say, "dignity for abjection," for the dignity of poverty never sees the face of abjection, and poverty and pride are like twins—"poverty is my pride."[4]

God knows us, and past days know us too;
Know that we are noble, even when penniless.

Rather our hope and request is this, that in time of seclusion and hours of tranquillity, the monarch should take the key of sincerity in the hand of supplication and unlock the door to this treasury of divine secrets, that is full of the coin of unlimited gift. He should remove the lid from the jewelboxes of this book's parts and chapters, that are full of the precious jewels of truth and of principle, and with the eye of insight examine those choice pearls in all the purity of faith. Then let him forward the purifying tax due on this wealth to those entrusted with its collection and use, so that they may spend it on those who spiritually and corporeally have a claim on it, as recipients of the purifying tax and the different forms of charity. Thus will all that this feeble one has inscribed with his pen come rightfully to accrue to that religion-nurturing king, that justice-dispensing monarch of the world and its people, and its benefits will reach all the globe and its inhabitants. In the attainment of this aim shall lie a wondrous means for this feeble one to gain favor in the presence of the True King, and to avoid being afflicted with

[4]Tradition previously quoted on p. 174.

shame and regret, and remonstrance and punishment, if God Almighty so wills.

O king, my desire from this service I proffer
Is not a cloak or a turban, a mantle or gown.
It is not pomp and position, nor splendor and power;
It is not riches and wealth, nor worldly respect.
It is not milk, wine and honey, nor the fruit of the garden,
Nor eternity with houris and palaces in the shade of the Ṭūbā.[5]
To two things has this, thy well-wisher aspired,
And the result of these two is but one goal.
One, perpetuity of enjoyment for the king of the world;
The other, to expound the Path's stations and unveil the religion of guidance.
By these two means I may then attain the "seat of sincerity,"[6]
For the Lord's presence is our aim and our goal.
If the king pays the due on this treasure to the collector of alms,
I will be flushed red with pride in the hereafter.
No punishment will I bear for what I have written,
No shame will be mine for what I have completed.
For this reason Adīb Ṣāber said, O king of the world,
In a fine verse that he once composed,
"In a hundred odes I have called thee generous and merciful;
Do not bring shame upon me for what I have called thee."[7]
O king, may a thousand tomes of this kind
Be prepared and presented unto thee.

It will be fitting for the king in his kindness to regard and protect this gift of a dervish with the eye of approval; and to draw the line of royal forgiveness across the errors of a devoted ser-

[5]Ṭūbā: the Tree of Bliss in Paradise, described as follows in a Tradition recorded by Ebn Ḥanbal: "It is a tree of a hundred years' walk; those beneath it are clothed in the garb of its calixes."

[6]Qur'an, 54:55.

[7]Adīb Ṣāber (d. 538/1143–542/1148), a panegyrist at the court of Atsez Ḵārazmšāh. The verse quoted here is to be found in his *Dīvān*, ed. 'Alī Qavīm (Tehran, 1334 Š./1955), p. 246.

vant, and the lapses of a pen that prays for his welfare, considering them as covered by the dictum, "lover's words are concealed, not revealed."

We conclude the book with a versified prayer for the sake of blessedness, so that "its ending be musk."[8]

O Lord, keep this, Thy divine shadow
  As guardian ruler over the world,
And keep ever in the embrace of Thy kindness
  This protector of the realm of Islam.

AND PRAISE BE TO GOD, LORD OF THE WORLDS, AND GOD'S PEACE AND BLESSINGS BE UPON OUR MASTER MOḤAMMAD AND ALL HIS FAMILY.

[8]Qur'an, 83:26.

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